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THE EARLY
IRISH CHURCH

BY

THE REV M.W. FOYE M.A.

PRICE 3/- WITH APPENDIX

JG Walrath
to
Billy
my beloved
grandson

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THE
EARLY IRISH CHURCH;
OR,
A SKETCH
OF
ITS HISTORY AND DOCTRINE.
IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.
ITS HISTORY, ENDOWMENTS, MISSIONS, SCHOOLS, &c.

PART II.
ITS DOCTRINE AND RELIGION, PROTESTANTISM, INDEPENDENCE, &c.

BY REV. M. W. FOYE, M. A., OXON.,
Incumbent of St. Bartholomew's, Birmingham.

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The Reader will perceive that reference is made in the following pages by letters to the foot notes, and by figures to the Appendix.



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PREFACE.

THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH is interesting on many accounts, but on none more than for its long independence of, and actual opposition to, the Church of Rome. Like the early British Church, and, indeed, like all those planted by the first heralds of the gospel and their early successors; which, though united in the bonds of faith and love, and a common hope and interest, yet were all alike independent of each other, and governed by their own ecclesiastical rulers, the Irish Church knew no master but Christ, and acknowledged no jurisdiction but that of her own synods and her own metropolitan. What more interesting than the fact, that the Church now established in Ireland is the literal descendent in succession and doctrine, and, consequently, the rightful heir of the endowments, of the early Irish? What more interesting than the fact, that it was not till the latter half of the twelfth century that the Irish Church first formally connected herself with the see of Rome, and became enslaved to a foreign master? And what more solemn than the lesson that the Irish people have not enjoyed a day's national peace or comfort since? These are important truths; and it is well they should be universally known and considered; and more especially so at the present crisis. Even intellectually considered, the facts are interesting; but religiously considered, they are extremely important. They are of themselves a refutation of all Romanism. We need not go to the remote regions of Asia for instances of primitive and independent Churches. We have one at home in our own land as it were, planted while Christianity was yet fresh and pure, growing up and flourishing for a long succession of ages, apart from Rome; the retreat of sacred learning and piety, the abode of saints, and the teacher of Europe; preserving the simplicity of her first faith; maintaining her right to be free; and remaining substantially the same, after nearly a thousand years, as she was when she was first planted.

The object of the following few chapters is to put some of the evidence of these important *facts* briefly, yet clearly before the reader. The subject was first handled by the author

in two lectures, delivered to the Members of St. George's Instruction Society, in Birmingham; and afterwards revised and committed to the press at the earnest request of those members, and that of the clergy who were present. It is presented under a two-fold aspect; first, that of the history, and next, that of the doctrine and religion, of the early Irish Church. The author has consulted the best authorities on the subject, and gives vouchers for every statement. He has been very sparing of comments; and the only merit his little work claims is that of avoiding the legends and fables with which the hagiologists and *saint-makers* of a late age have darkened the subject, and of aiming at a faithful compilation and lucid arrangement of authentic documents; from which the reader will be able to form his own judgement. No inference is drawn by the writer, but such as is amply borne out by the very words of the authors which he quotes. In the appendix the passages are given in the original, in all cases of importance; and no pains have been spared, consistently with brevity, to render the little work permanently useful, to make the character of the early Irish Church popularly known, and bring *the facts* of the case within the reach of every ordinary reader. From the proofs alleged it will be clearly seen, that that Church was for ages the same as the Church now established in Ireland: shall I say, in all respects, doctrinally and substantially, the same? the same, affirmatively and negatively? yes, the reader will judge. He will see that she was not only truly orthodox and evangelical, but *literally* protestant; not merely independent of, but actually opposed to, the see of Rome; and that it was only after a long series; first, of secret plotting and deception; then, of open agitation; and, finally, of impious war and merciless violence upon an unoffending people; that popery was at length propagated in Ireland, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The author will only add, that if he could indulge a hope that any of his brethren, in his dear "father land," would *allow* themselves to read and ponder these pages with candor, he feels persuaded that, under God's blessing, they, too, would see, with deep penitence and sorrow, how widely they have swerved from the faith of their fathers, and what a bad and blind devotion that is with which they now cling to a religion, which was first *insidiously* brought in amongst them by the intrigue and cunning; and, finally, *forced* upon them by the treachery and violence, of the bishop of Rome. God grant that they may at length open their eyes to these things.

FIRST CHAPTER.

THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.

1. THAT Christianity was early planted in Ireland we know on unquestionable ancient testimony, though at what precise time the Gospel was first preached there, or who were its first heralds, it is now impossible to ascertain. But Ireland has fared no worse in this respect than many other countries, in which the origin of christianity is involved in similar remote obscurity. However, that the Christian Church was there before the time of Patrick, its reputed Apostle, we know, on the authority of Patrick himself. In a tract addressed to the Irish people, and to be noticed further on, he says—"I journeyed in all directions for your sake, even to those remotest corners of your Isle, to which no one had gone before me, to baptize or ordain ministers." Here you see Patrick does not claim the Apostleship of the whole of Ireland; but plainly intimates that some, at least, of the less remote places, had already been blessed with the Christian religion. We also know the same on the authority of a contemporary Latin Father. Two years before St. Patrick entered upon his labours, a missionary had been sent to Ireland by Pope Celestine; and Prosper, a friend of that Pope, recording this fact, has these words in his chronicle, A. D. 430, "*Palladius is ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent as first (or chief) bishop to the Scots believing in Christ.*" (1) Here, then, is positive ancient testimony to the fact that there was a Christian Church in Ireland before the mission of Palladius, and consequently before that of St. Patrick. "*The Scots believing in Christ.*" Now, as some of our northern neighbours below the Tweed have been so rash or vain as to claim this testimony of Prosper, as referring to themselves, it is important to notice here, once for all, that the name *Scotia* (*a*) was anciently appropriated to Ireland. In truth, no other country was known

^a The present Scotland was called Albania, Caledonia, or the Country of the Picts. A colony, however, from the North of Ireland, having possessed themselves of Argyle and Ayrshire, and set up a new kingdom there, A. D. 503, under the two royal brothers, Fergus and Loarn, these also, not long after, began to be called "Scots"; but at first generally with the distinction "Scots of Albania," or *Albin Scots*," the Irish still retaining the original name "*the Scots.*" Subsequently the distinction grew to be "*Irish Scots,*" "*Albin Scots.*" And so the distinction continued even so late as the thirteenth century. This is now admitted by all who have given any attention to the matter. See *Chalmers' Caledonia*, Vol. 1, Book 2, c. 6.

by that name up to the twelfth century; as Archbishop Usher has clearly shown, who adds—"I think there cannot be produced from the whole of the first eleven centuries a single writer who has called Albania by the name of Scotia." (De Primord, c. 16.) So that when Prosper says "*Palladius is sent to preside as chief bishop over the Scots believing in Christ*;" there can be no mistake as to what people is meant, nor any doubt of there being already a Church of Christ among them.

2. Now, to this we must not hesitate to add another interesting fact, bearing upon the same point; which we read of in the lives of the Irish Saints, and which, though mixed up with fable and folly, and anachronism, like every thing else which legendary Monks have put their hands to, yet we have no right to disbelieve, seeing it is thus amply borne out and confirmed by this authentic and joint testimony of Prosper and Patrick. That fact is this, that prior to the time of Patrick there were not only several Christian Churches, but several Christian bishops also, in the southern and eastern parts of Ireland; at Ardmore, Lismore, and Emly, in Munster, and at Beg-*Erin* and Ossory, in Leinster; though, at the same time, it appears that the whole of the northern and western provinces continued still pagan; while, nevertheless, we must not forget to add, that even in some of these latter, St. Patrick is said to have discovered traces of a former but extinct Christianity. The names of these Prelates were Kieran, Ailbe, Declan, and Ibar; their memories are still perpetuated and greatly venerated in those parts, and though much ingenuity has been resorted to with a view of discrediting their history, in consequence of the arrant folly with which it has been blended; yet the fact itself of their existence and labours, is borne out by every document connected with the history of the early Irish Church.

3. But this is not all: there are some other very interesting and well-known facts, which not only prove that the Church of Christ existed at an early period in Ireland, but moreover, very clearly indicate that, though narrow in her limits, yet she was nothing inferior in vigour to any of her sisters on the continent. They are facts connected with the Pelagian heresy. We read that the propagators, though not the first authors, of this novelty, (which originated at Rome about the close of the fourth century, and which denied the doctrine of original sin and the necessity of renewing and sanctifying grace,) were Pelagius and Celestius, that is, Morgan^(b) and Kelly, the former a Briton and the latter an Irishman. They are expressly so called by their contemporaries and opponents,

^b Pelagius is simply the Latin for Morgan; *Mer*, the Welch word for *Sea*, being the same as Pelagus in Latin. Celestius is the Latin for Colleagh or Kelly.

Jerome, Augustin, Mercator, Prosper (2); and, as a proof that they did not imbibe their errors at home, they are represented as having come to Rome while their faith was pure, and as having already *long* resided there (mark! before the year 400) in the enjoyment of the highest reputation for learning and piety, and in the closest intimacy with the most eminent men of the age. And, what is still more important to the case we are proving, we are furthermore informed, that Morgan was at the head of one of the Roman schools; that Kelly was his assistant; *that the latter was a man of noble birth and Christian parents; that he was brought up, when young, in a monastery; that, while in that monastery, his faith was sound; that "he wrote three epistles, as large as little books, to his parents, full of piety, and necessary to the edification of all who love God;"* that having come to Rome, and there formed acquaintance with Morgan and Rufinus, (Rufinus was the secret, or concealed, author of the heresy,) (c) he imbibed their pernicious principles, and, being a man of sharp wit and great abilities, he soon stood forth at the head of the sect, and became "the master" (says Jerome) "rather than the disciple of the heresiarch, and the leader of the whole heretical band." (d)

These then, you will see at once, are important facts, plainly indicating the eminence, at this early age, of the respective Christian Schools which produced these two distinguished but unfortunate characters.

4. And lastly, of equal weight and interest is another fact which we must add, and it is this:—that one of the most able opponents of the Pelagian heresy was also an Irishman, the contemporary of Celleagh, and decidedly one of the most distinguished theologians and Latin poets of the age. This was the celebrated Sedulius, that is, Shiel. He calls himself "Sedulius Scotigena," that is, Irish-born; and, what is quite to our point, he is thus described by Trithemius—"Sedulius, the presbyter, was a Scot, and, from his youth up, a disciple of Hildebert, *Archbishop of the Scots*. He was a man eminently versed in *the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures*, of great accomplishments in human learning, and had an excellent taste both in prose and verse. Having left Scotia, he travelled into France, &c, &c., and at length settled in Italy, where he was greatly admired for his wonderful learning." Among the poetical works of this eminent Irish divine "are some of the most beautiful hymns that are read in the Church," says Dr. Lanigan; and in his prose works

c So Marius Mercator. See Dupin, under Mercator.

d Jerome calls the Pelagian heresy, "puls Scotorum," that is, "Scotch porridge," or "Irish flummery." He compares Morgan to Pluto, and Kelly to his dog, Cerberus; and Orosius calls the former Goliath, and the latter "his armour-bearer, who supplies (says he) all the weapons of iron and brass." See *O'Conor's Rerum Hibernicarum*, vol. 1. Prol. 1, p. 74.

is a commentary on the epistles of St. Paul, entitled (3) "The Collectaneum of Sedulius, a Scot of Ireland, on all the Epistles of St. Paul;" which is a standard of divinity worthy of the present protestant day, and which plainly shews the author to have been a prime luminary of the orthodox faith in his age, and that the Church which produced such a distinguished divine and scholar, was fully on a par with any of her sisters elsewhere, in the cultivation of literature, and in vigour of life and doctrine.

These, then, are some of the facts which prove the early origin of Christianity in Ireland. Hence, it is very natural to suppose that in that well-known passage of Tertullian, a Latin Father of the second century,—"*even those regions of the British Isles where the Roman arms have never yet approached, are subject to Christ*"—there is a plain reference to Ireland as one of the British Isles, and the only one to which the Roman arms could be then properly said not to have penetrated. Now, when we add to all these facts the testimony of Tacitus, who tells us "that the coasts and harbours of Ireland were better known, in his days, to foreign merchants, by means of commerce, than those of Britain;" when we call to mind the close intercourse subsisting between Spain and Ireland, from the time of the Milesian colony, and the constant resort of traders to the Irish coasts, not only from Britain and Gaul and Carthage, but even occasionally from remoter regions of the east, (as is evident from various remains of antiquity discovered in Ireland); and when we remember withal, the zeal of the first Christians to propagate the Gospel and make known the saving name of Jesus; we can have little doubt that the Gospel had found a firm footing in Ireland even as early, if not before, the times of Tertullian. Still the history of the Irish Church must be properly said to begin with St. Patrick, to whose labours we now proceed.

SECOND CHAPTER.

THE LABOURS OF ST. PATRICK, HIS TRUE HISTORY AND EVANGELICAL CHARACTER.

1. The mission of Palladius, from whatever cause, produced no effect. In less than a year he was forced to quit the country; and having died that year at Fordun in Scotland, on his way back to Rome, his failure,—whether it arose from the hostility, as it is said, of Nathi, a king in the south, or, as is more probable, from the refusal of the Irish Churches to receive him as their chief bishop, (as was afterwards the case with Austin in Britain), gave rise to the adage, so common to this day among the

Irish—"that not to *Palladius*, but to *Patrick*, did God grant the conversion of Ireland."

Now, Fordun, you will observe, is on the opposite side of the Scottish coast to the birth-place of Patrick; and whether it was, that this really good and holy man, who, from his youth up, had set his heart on the conversion of the Irish, was in the neighbourhood at the time, or otherwise heard of the failure of *Palladius*, and therefore hastened his departure, we are not told; but certain it is, that a few months after we find him on his way to Ireland with twenty devoted fellow missionaries. Prudently avoiding the error, or taught by the misfortune, of the *Roman* missionary, he does not offer himself as "*a primus*" to the Churches, but turns his face to the bleak north; and early the next year (A.D. 432) we have him preaching the Gospel amid an assembly of heathens, in a humble barn in Down. Here was his first convert in the person of Dicho, the chieftain of the district; here his first church was built on the site of the barn, and, from north to south, in the form of the barn; and here his first monastery, or school rather, was erected; and both were called, *Sabhal Padruic*, that is, Patrick's Barn; a name which, being afterwards corrupted into *Saul*, continues to this day, and is near *Dundrum*, in the county Down.

I have been thus particular in narrating this first act of our saint, merely as a specimen of his whole subsequent history. In this one glass you may see all his other apostolic labours faithfully reflected. Such was his history for the remaining 35 years of his old age,—for he was now almost 50. Thus it was that he continued to labour during this long space, "journeying," as he says, "into every corner of the island;" "travelling on foot," "preaching the word of life all along;" "reading the scriptures, and for days and nights together interpreting them to the people;" making converts every where, God blessing the word; founding churches and monasteries, or, as we should now call them, schools for all classes; venturing even to appear at the great religious festivals and idolatrous assemblies of the people, and boldly to preach Christ in the presence of their kings and chief druids; accepting nothing for his pains, "lest (says he) the word of God should be hindered;" nay, "risking his life for their sake;" "suffering bonds and imprisonment at the hands of some, and paying fines to others, to induce them to spare their own children, his converts; in short, in every way, alike of joy and of sorrow, of good and of evil, fulfilling the good work which Christ his Lord gave him; till, in the year 465, he departed to a glorious rest, and was buried in an humble grave at *Saul*; "having founded," says *Nennius*, "365 churches, and ordained 365 bishops, and more than 3000 presbyters;" and having left *Armagh* the metropolitan see of the whole Irish Church.

The numbers here stated, especially that of the bishops, may seem extravagant; but we have reason to believe it is not much, if at all, exaggerated; as we know from other recorded facts of the early Church, and especially that of Ireland, (which in this, as in every other respect, most resembled the early Church), that in that age, almost every monastery and seminary of sacred learning had its presiding prelate, and almost all those districts which are now called rural deaneries, were then bishoprics.

We need only add to this sketch, that it was not till he had laboured, several successive, years in planting the Gospel, first in Ulster, then in Connaught, and finally in Leinster, that he at length ventured to visit the parts of the island which had already been evangelized. Here too his usual success attended him. The fame of his great piety and zeal having long since travelled before him, his presence was hailed with rapture by the king and the nobility; and, though "some murmuring and jealousy" were at first evinced by the bishops and clergy, who declared "that they never acknowledged the jurisdiction of a foreigner," yet they appear soon to have accommodated matters, and accepted, if not his jurisdiction, at least his brotherly counsel and co-operation.

Such is a brief summary of the acts of St. Patrick. All this we know on the authentic evidence of his own writings, without taking anything from the legends that have disgraced his history.

2. Now, a brief notice here of St. Patrick's writings will be useful at once to illustrate his life and character, and to show something of the truly evangelical religion which he planted in Ireland. And, here it may be observed, that his own genuine remains are a complete and decisive answer to the doubts that have been raised by some sceptics, as to the reality of St. Patrick's existence and labours. These doubts were never thought of till our own age (4); and the grounds which are pretended for them, if not the result of ignorance, at least betray great prejudice or party spirit; indeed, I must say, they are frivolous and captious in the extreme. They are chiefly the two following:—

First, The silence of Platina (in the fifteenth century), a writer of the lives of the Popes; and still more, that of Prosper, the friend of Pope Celestine; neither of whom mention the mission of Patrick by that Pope, though they both take care to record that of Palladius.

Secondly, The many absurd and monstrous miracles (5) ascribed to the saint from his birth up, and even before he was born; by his later monkish life-writers, each out-vying and out-running his predecessor in marvel and folly, and each growing more muddy and noisome, like a turbid stream, as it flows on farther and farther from the original fountain. Thus *Probus*, for instance, in the tenth century, far out-does all

that had gone before him; but he is himself again as far outdone by *Jocelin* in the twelfth; and *O'Sullivan*, coming last of all (seventeenth century), wins the palm from both; and, as if determined to leave no hope for any future competitor, gives us two whole books on the wonders of that monster of diabolical invention and deadly pollution, St. Patrick's Purgatory, of which there is not a trace in Probus or Jocelin, or any of the life-writers that preceded him.

Now, surely these objections are captious and frivolous in the extreme. Surely it does not follow that, because these absurd fables were crowded upon the life of St. Patrick by silly monks in a dark age, therefore he was not the apostle of the Irish; more especially as his history is supported by his own writings and other authentic documents; and *that*, without a shadow of allusion to anything of the marvellous. St. Patrick, being a real character, it was but natural that these miracles should be heaped upon him. He has suffered no more in this respect at the hands of the monks, than all the other saints of the calender have suffered. There is not one of them whose life has not been *embellished* with similar fable and fiction; ~~and~~ and as it is not ideal, but real characters, which fabulists generally seek to build their romances upon; so the biography of this devoted servant of God having thus suffered in the same way as that of other saints,—*this*, instead of being a disproof of his acts, is rather an additional confirmation of their reality; evincing the great veneration his character has always been held in, and showing how naturally admiration and gratitude have loved to adorn and magnify everything relating to his actions or his name. This, then, I think, is reply enough to one of the two objections. And as to the other—namely, the silence of Prosper and Platina,—this is easily disposed of. It is accounted for at once by the fact—(a fact again fully borne out by St. Patrick's own writings, as well as by other independent and positive testimony)—namely, that the bishop of Rome had nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with the mission of St. Patrick, or the establishment of the Irish Church. This was the invention of the monkish fablers of a modern age, anxious to compliment and flatter their patron the Pope; and hence it is that it is unnoticed by, because it was unknown to, Prosper and Platina. The consecration of St. Patrick by the bishop of Rome, has no earlier *Irish* authority than a manuscript of the fifteenth century; and the first foreign chronicler in whom any mention is found of it, is Marianus, a monk of Cologne, in the eleventh century. The truth is, it is so manifest a falsehood, that no bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the many attempts of those bishops on the liberty of the Irish Church, has ever dared to pretend to it; no, not even the aspiring Hildebrand, or the iniquitous Adrian; and, what is more, Irish Romanists themselves

are now forced to reject it as a fable, and to apologize for its appearance in the Breviary. "The account" (says Dr. Lanigan, one of the best and latest of those writers) "of St. Patrick's consecration by Pope Celestine, is not to be met with in any of the lives (of the saint) except those two compilations of *all stories*, namely, Jocelin's and the Jupartite; whence it made its way into some Breviaries and other late documents." (e) But what decides, as I have said, this, as well as every other question relative to St. Patrick, is an appeal to his own genuine remains, or to those attributed to his immediate disciple, Fiech. These authenticate all I have stated to you, and *that*, without the shadow even of an allusion to the Church or bishop of Rome. He, himself, every where ascribes his mission to God, or to a divine impulse; and what is more interesting still, there is a passage in his remains, from which many have argued "that he was consecrated in Ireland." The words are, "*constitutus sum episcopus Hiberione*."—"I was made a bishop in Ireland." (6)



THIRD CHAPTER.

THE SAME SUBJECT, FROM ST. PATRICK'S OWN TESTIMONY.

Now, it will be interesting as well as edifying, I trust, to hear this good man speak for himself. Now, the work from which I am about to quote, is entitled "Patrick's Confession." It was originally published *from*, and has been often since collated *with*, the manuscripts; one of which is now more than one thousand years old, and it bears internal evidence to its authorship. It is a review of his whole life, written by himself just before his death, when he felt his dissolution approaching, and is addressed to the Irish people. His object in writing it was to make, as it were, a *dying appeal* to his converts; to return thanks to God for his continued and singular mercies to himself and to the Scottish nation; to confirm the latter in their faith, by proving to them that it was Christ himself that had sent him upon his mission, and that Christ had been with him in every step of its progress; and to conjure and encourage them, by these tokens of the divine mercy, to persevere onward in the path of labour and zeal and self-denial, which had been thus marked out for them.

First, he tells us of his parentage and country, and the place of his birth. (7) "I, Patrick, a sinner, had for my father Calpurnius, a deacon, and for my grandfather Potitus, a priest. My father was of the village of *Bonaven Taberniæ*, near to which he had a villa, where I was

• *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland.* vol. 1. p. 191.

made captive." "*Bonaven*," (*f*) the reader will observe, signifies in the ancient British language, "*the mouth* (*Bon*) (*g*) of the *Aven*; and the adjunct *Taberniæ*, signifying the place of tents or tabernacles," marks it as a Roman mart or station; so that the birth-place of the Irish Apostle, according to his own shewing, is somewhere in the present Avendale, not far from "the mouth" or junction of the Avon, with the Clyde—where we may add, there are the remains of a Roman Station to this day—indeed, the whole district is covered with such remains; so that it might well be called "*Taberniæ*." (8)

Next he notices his six years sore slavery in the mountains of Antrim, herding Cattle; and very feelingly tells us of the effects of his afflictions in awakening him to a sense of his former unbelief and sinfulness, and in turning his heart to God. A plain contradiction, you will mark, to the monkish legends of the infant's miracles.

"When made captive, I was scarcely sixteen years of age; but *I was ignorant of God*, and therefore it was that I was led captive into Ireland with so many thousands. It was, according to our deserts, because we drew back from God, and kept not his precepts, neither were obedient to our priests, who admonished us of our salvation. Therefore, the Lord brought upon us the anger of his indignation, and dispersed us abroad among many nations, even to the ends of the earth. But there the Lord imparted to me the feeling (*aperuit sensum*) of my unbelief and hardness of heart, so that I should call my sins to remembrance, though late, and turn with all my heart to God; who, having compassion on my youth and ignorance, watched over me and kept me e'er yet I knew him, or had any relish for him (*saperem*); yea, and before I could distinguish between good and evil, awakened me and comforted me, as a father does a child."

Here, you see, are the very same doctrines of grace and conversion, which are preached from our evangelical pulpits at this day;—as he says again, c. 5,—"*At first a clown, an exile, illiterate, unable so much as to see a stem before me;—oh, how true it is that before the Lord humbled me, I was even as a stone lying in the depth of the mire, and HE WHO ALONE IS ABLE (h) came, and in his mercy lifted me up, and not only lifted me up, but set me on the top of the wall.*"—A beautiful allusion, you will observe, to the scriptural emblem of *the living stones*

f *Confess. Pat. Section 1.*

g *Dictionnaire Colligee*.—"Several rivers, both in South and North Britain, are named *Avon*; which, in the ancient British and Gaulic language, signifies, a river. *Aw*, or *Ow*, in the British and other dialects of the Celtic, signify *water*."—*Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 20.

h *Qui potens est.*

B

of the living temple, (Eph. ii. 21. 1 Peter ii. 5. 1 Cor. iii. 16.) intimating how grace not only made him, of a dead, a living stone of the mystical zion, but even promoted him to spiritual headship therein, i. e. to be an archbishop.

Now passing over a crowd of most interesting particulars—his manner of life in the mountains; his devotions; his growth in grace and Christian feeling under the divine tuition; his rising long before day-light to prayer, in snow and frost and rain, and yet his suffering no inconvenience from it, “because” (says he) “the spirit of God was warm in me;” his escape from bondage at the end of the sixth year, to which he was encouraged in a dream, a voice saying to him, “youth thou fastest well; soon thou shalt go to thy native home—lo! thy ship is ready;”—and then after his return home, his suffering a second captivity, “from which” (says he) “again the Lord delivered me;” passing over all these, and leaving to the reader the reflections which they naturally suggest on that gracious providence, which thus prepared and fitted this noble youth for the future great work which God was designing for him;—which thus, by a severe but merciful discipline, brought him acquainted with the institutions and customs, the language and character, the habits and feelings of the people, to whom he was afterwards to be a harbinger of the grace and life of the gospel—I hasten to a very interesting occurrence, which is thus related. It would seem that St. Patrick, from the time of his escape from Ireland, had serious thoughts of returning thither as a christian missionary; but many, he tells us, were opposed to this step, more especially his parents; and some mocked and derided it. And he says,—

“And after a few years I was again with my parents in Britain, who received me affectionately, and, in the faith, entreated me to stay with them, and leave them no more, after all the tribulations I had suffered. But lo! that very night I saw, in a vision, a man coming, as if from Ireland, by name Victoricius, with innumerable letters; and he gave me one of them to read, at the head of which was written, ‘*The voice of the Irish* :’ and as I read, I thought, at that same moment, I heard the voice of those who dwell at the wood of Foclaid, near the western ocean, crying, as though with one mouth and saying, ‘*we beseech thee, holy youth, come and walk still among us.*’ And I felt my heart greatly stirred within me, and could read no more; and I awoke—God be praised, who, many years after, rendered to them according to their cry.”—Section 11.

Now, had we no more on this subject, we might be in some, though not much, doubt, who this “Victoricius,” or “conquering one,” was; and, accordingly, the monkish life-writers and saint-makers have patched up a pretty legend of a guardian angel, named *Victor*, always at St. Patrick’s

elbow; and the advocates of Romanism easily swallow the fable, and lay eager hold of it to this day, as a decided proof that St. Patrick was a practicer of saint and angel invocation: but the saint himself gives us the following beautiful evangelical explanation. He adds in the very next words,—

“And another night I heard him—whether in me, or near me, I know not; God knows—speaking in a fine language, which I heard but could not understand; save that at the end of his speech he said to me, ‘*He that laid down his life for thee, the same it is that speaketh in thee;*’ and I awoke greatly rejoicing.”—Section 12.

This, then, was “*The Conquering One,*” the true “*Victor,*” that came to Patrick “with the voice of the Irish.” It is plain he was no ordinary angel, but “the King of angels,” even that same Jesus, “who loved him and gave himself for him.”—Oh! this was a call indeed;—this was a better mission than that of Pope or Cardinal. And what was the holy man now to do? What! but to obey the voice of HIM “who laid down his life for him,” and was able to keep him, whatever the obstacles that lay in his way, or whatever the hardships that awaited him? Could he, after so palpable a divine call, plead the opposition of his parents, or his own unfitness for the work? Could he allege his want of the necessary learning? or excuse himself on the ground that he had spent his boyhood “in unbelief and hardness of heart,” and his youthhood in ignorance and captivity? No! from that moment, Patrick’s resolution was fixed—from that moment his mind was made up for what he calls “*his laborious episcopate*”—“*for the work which Christ gave him; which he received from God, and not from man.*”

But now his resolution was fixed. Accordingly, following “the confession,” we find that nothing could henceforth deter or divert him from his holy purpose; neither the entreaties, nor tears, nor offers of his parents; nor the discouragements of false friends; nor the insinuations of jealous ecclesiastics;—some of whom scoffed at his ignorance and presumption, and others, of whom, vilified his character—nor, what was a greater obstacle still, his want of qualification, and the long time it would now take, in one of his age, (being more than thirty) to master the necessary studies, and attain to the episcopate; without which, he could not well enter upon such a mission. Accordingly, we find him devoting the next fifteen years of his life to this object; first, at Tours, in Gaul; then at Lerins; and, finally, under the celebrated Germanus, bishop of Auxerre; “*with whom he read the whole Canon of Scripture,*” (says Fiech), and from whom he received a *liturgy*; which was neither the *Roman*, nor the *Gallic*, but the *Ægyptian*, or the same as that called St. Mark’s. (9) So that he was almost an old man before he found himself in a condition to

enter upon the long wished-for field of labour and peril, to which his Lord had called him. Now, hear the saint's own words, in reference to the hardships of this long period, and mark well, what a truly *evangelical* spirit they breathe, and what a model of sound scriptural religion they are.

"So far was I from proceeding to Ireland, at the promptings of my own will, that I did not go there *till I was almost spent*. But this was far better for me; for, thereby, I was amended of the Lord, who thus fitted me to be, to day, what I was once far from being, namely, THAT I SHOULD BUSY MYSELF WITH, AND LABOUR FOR, THE SALVATION OF OTHERS, AT A TIME WHEN I THOUGHT NOT OF MY OWN."—*Sect. 12. (10)*

What a noble sentiment is here! what a model for christian ministers and missionaries! St. Patrick did not think the mere hands of the bishop sufficient to make a minister of Jesus. He did not think that mere human study made a preacher, or that that man was qualified to be a herald of the gospel to others, who had not himself first drunk into its spirit, and realized its power. This would be called fanaticism by some at the present day; but thank God it is the express doctrine of our Church. (i) St. Patrick was a saint indeed.

Again he says,—

"Oh! whence to me this wisdom," (that is, this spiritual relish, *sapientia*) "who once knew not so much as to count the number of the days, and had no relish for God? Whence to me, this, so great and saving a grace, that I should thus know God or love God? that I should cast off country and parents, refusing their many offers and weeping and tears, and withal offend my seniors, (*k*) contrary to my wish; * * * * yet, not I, but the grace of God, which was in me, which resisted all impediments; to the end that I should come to the Irish tribes, to preach the gospel, and endure these wrongs, at the hands of the unbelieving; that I should hear the reproach of my being a wanderer and an alien, and undergo so many persecutions, even to bonds and imprisonments, and sacrifice myself, and my nobility and rank, for the sake of others. And I am ready, if I should be found meet, and the Lord would indulge me so far, to lay down my life for his name; because I am greatly a debtor to God, who bestowed such great grace upon one."—*Section 15.*

i "Do you trust that you are *inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost*, to take upon you this office and ministration, to serve God for the promoting of his glory, and the edifying of his people? *Answer*—I trust so."—*Ordination Service.*

k He means the monks and his brethren in the ministry, who opposed his missionary undertaking.

Then reverting to the purpose of his writing the confession, he says,—

“Wherefore it behoveth you to act well the fishers of men, with wisdom and diligence, as the Lord admonishes. You must spread your nets wide, with vigor, that a vast multitude may be caught for God; that every where there may be ministers to baptize, and to preach to the people, lacking (the word) and desiring it of you. (1) * * * Therefore, I have said these things to you, my brethren and fellow-servants, to strengthen your faith. Oh! would to God ye may go on in the same track! God grant ye may aim at, and perform things, greater and better. This shall be my glory; inasmuch as a wise son is the glory of his father.”

The reader has, now, a specimen of the life and character of the Apostle of Ireland, from his own pen; and I think it is such as can stand the scrutiny of the most enlightened protestant divine. St. Patrick's writings have nothing to fear from theological criticism. I have his *genuine* remains now before me. I have read them over with attention more than once; and I can truly say there is not, from the beginning to the end of them, a single trace of the superstitious, or of any thing, in the slightest degree, savouring of popery. (11) All through, with Patrick, man is nothing, grace is every thing; and every sentiment breathes the deepest piety, and the purest *evangelical* spirit.

I shall only add, from “The Confession,” that towards the close of it, we have again, a plain contradiction to another fable of the advocates of a religion different from that of St. Patrick. The monks gravely tell us of his devoutly going to Rome, after the conversion of the Irish; of his laying the results of his labours at the feet of the pope, and of his humbly and reverently asking “*his holiness*,” for the confirmation of them. “His holiness,” they add, “received him most graciously; granted him all he wished for; decorated him with the pallium, and appointed him his legate for Ireland.” What a barefaced invention! St. Patrick himself declares here, plainly, that he never left Ireland, from his first coming thither, as a missionary. Having mentioned the persecutions, which, some of his converts, “the sons and daughters of Scottish chieftians” (*reguli*), were undergoing, at the hands of their own fathers, he adds,—“Therefore, though I wished much, and most earnestly desired, to go to *Britain*, as if to my country and kindred; and not only so, but to proceed even as far as Gaul,—the Lord knows how much I wished it; yet, bound in the Spirit, (which declares me guilty, if I should do so) I fear, lest I should lose ought of my labour—*nay, not mine, but Christ's*, my Lord's; who commanded me to come to this people, and *be with them during the residue of my life*.” Not a word, you see, of Rome or of the pope; and the story is, so manifest a fabrication, that Dr. Lanigan

1 *Populum, indigentem, et desiderantem.*

himself treats it with contempt. "This pretended tour" (says he) "to Rome, and the concomitant circumstances, are set aside by the testimony of St. Patrick himself; who gives us, most clearly, to understand, that from the commencement of his mission he constantly remained in Ireland." And, again he says,—“For it is clear, from his own testimony, that he remained with the Irish people *during the whole remainder of his life.*” (m) And, in both instances, the Dr. quotes “the confession,” as above.

Now, one fact more, I think, I must notice, under this head, as it throws light upon the times, and seems to have had a special influence in facilitating the spread of the gospel in Ireland, and in giving effect to St. Patrick's labours. Fiech records an ancient prediction of the diviners of Erin, similar to that which prevailed among the nations of antiquity, to the effect *that a universal King should come; who should restore peace upon earth, revive the golden age, and reign for ever*; and Fiech adds, that St. Patrick no sooner appeared, preaching Christ, than the Druids declared to the then monarch, Leogaire, that the time for the fulfilment of this prophecy was come, and that *Temor*, (the place of their solemn annual assembly, on the hill of Tarah,) was about to be deserted.

The words of Fiech, literally translated, are—

Most salutary to Erin,
Was the coming of Patrick to Focluid;
He heard, from afar, the sound of invitation,
From the sons of Focluid wood.

They besought the saint to come,
To discourse with them daily;
To draw away from their errors,
The diviners of Erin to life.

The diviners of Erin predicted,—
New days of PEACE shall come;
Which shall endure FOR EVER,
The country of TEMOR shall be deserted.

His Druids from Leogaire,
The coming of Patrick concealed not;
The predictions were verified,
Concerning the KING whom they foretold.

This is a most important relic, preserved in Fiech's hymn, and it corroborates a very interesting incident recorded of our apostle, and strikingly characteristic of his zeal and fortitude in the cause of Christ. The incident is this: soon after his arrival in the Island, the great national festival of *Tarah*, called “*Baal's fire*,” was at hand. St. Patrick resolves to be there, and make a bold effort, at once, at the

m *Eccles. Hist.* vol. 1, pp. 181, 319.

monarch and chief heads of the nation, civil and religious, assembled at the feast. He arrives in the neighbourhood on the eve of the festival, and lights his fire on the distant hill of *Slane*. It was contrary to law to light a fire that night, till the fire on *Tarah* was first seen to blaze, and, accordingly, the saint's fire being seen from the heights, the Druids raise an outcry; they declare that that fire is the signal of the predicted King, and that, unless it be immediately extinguished, he who has lighted it, shall overthrow the monarchy. Leogaire is alarmed, and Patrick is summoned before him. This being all the good man wanted: he lays open the objects of his mission; he explains the true character of "the predicted King;" proclaims the gospel of peace; and disconcerts the Druids: and the result was, that many were converted, and among them, Dubtach, the Arch-poet of the kingdom; Fiech, his chief disciple; the queen and her two daughters; and, though, not then, yet a few days after, Conall, the king's brother: (n) and though the king himself remained obstinate, yet it appears, on the whole, that he was so satisfied with the explanations of the apostle, that he consented, at least, not to hinder his preaching.

Such, then, was St. Patrick. Such were his labours and perils in behalf of a people, which had so often carried desolation into his country, and had enslaved himself and "so many thousands" of his brethren. Such is his title to a name greater than that of the conqueror of kingdoms, and the founder of empires. In the sketch I have given, I have avoided every thing but what can be relied upon as truth: being verified by his own writings, or the ancient hymn ascribed to Fiech; and of this I have given but a mere specimen; yet that specimen is enough to shew the true grounds of the extraordinary veneration his name has ever been held in, as a benefactor of mankind; as a saint of God, and a true preacher of the gospel of Christ; and that though there was a Church in Ireland, long before he was born, yet he has a just claim to be called, as he ever has been, "the Apostle of the ancient SCOTIA, (o) and the father of the Irish Church."

n At the Tailtein games.

o Scotia Major was the name used as distinctive of Ireland, when Albania first begun to be called *Scotia*.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

THE TIMES AFTER ST. PATRICK, ENDOWMENTS, MISSIONS, &c.

WE learn from "The Confession," that though, at the death of St. Patrick, (13) there were still considerable remains of paganism and some persecutions, yet the bulk of the nation was become Christian; (*p*) and he left, as we have seen, a full-formed Church, abounding with bishops, and well supplied with seminaries of learning, and a numerous body of zealous and devoted clergy. Now, the history of this body of men, and their successors for the next three hundred years and more—the history of their zeal and fortitude, and self-denial and activity, as preachers of the gospel and ambassadors of Christ, fearless of difficulties, and heedless of personal ease or worldly interest; and having but one object in view—the fostering, namely, of the seeds which had already been sown, and the evangelizing of a rude and warlike and restless people,—this history, I say, were we to enter into its details, would be little else than a repetition, *substantially*, of the labours and acts of St. Patrick. So similar is the one to the other in matter, and spirit and character, as it needs, must be, where there was a similar animating spirit, and, nearly, similar circumstances. The truth is, the current of religion had set in under Patrick; and, after his departure, it continued to flow with a full tide. The example and dying appeal of so holy a man could not but have a powerful influence on the natural susceptibilities of the Irish heart, and on the warm affections of those dear converts, for whose souls he had so many times ventured his life; and for whom he was more than ready, yea, "wished, if God," as he says, "would indulge him so far, to lay it down." Accordingly, we find that the imitation of Patrick was now the national taste and fashion as it were; and, hence, it is that the chief characteristic of this period, may be summed up in the five following particulars:—the building and *endowing* of Churches; the erecting and *endowing* of schools and colleges; *preaching the word of life*; *teaching the sacred Scriptures*; and sending out missionaries to other lands. This is, in fact, the staple language, as it were, of the history of this period;—it was the happy excitement of the day;—it was the turn

p "Hiberione-nuper effecta est *plebs domini*, et filii dei nuncupantur."—*Confess.* Sec. 16. And yet he often alludes to persecutions as still existing. The reader will note both these particulars, as the representation generally given is far otherwise.—*See Appendix*, 13.

which the religious mind now took in Ireland. The period, accordingly, was the age, emphatically so called, of the highest order of *Irish saints*, who were, for the most part, persons of *royal or noble birth*; and "*were all*" (says the ancient author of their catalogue) "*founders of Churches.*" (*q*) This author reckons, in all, seven hundred and fifty Irish saints, up to his own time, (that is to beyond the middle of the seventh century,) which he divides into "*three classes*," according to their succession in order of time. "Of these," he says, "the *first* were the most holy, and shone bright as the sun, **HAVING CHRIST AS THEIR ALONE HEAD**, and Patrick as their one leader. They observed one liturgy; one ministration; one tonsure; one easter, namely, *the quartadeciman*; and whatever one excommunicated, they all excommunicated. They did not reject the attendance and *fellowship* (*r*) of women, because, *being founded on THE ROCK CHRIST*, they feared not the minds of temptation." Of the two next classes, he says, "that they differed from one another; the *second*, in their liturgies,—having received one from the Britons, David Gildas, and Docus (Cadoc); and, the *third*, in their tonsure and easter: some wearing the *crown*; others, their hair; some celebrating easter on the *fourteenth* day of the moon; others on the *sixteenth*." (15) Now, though, the chronicler adds, that these two classes "*shone* only as the moon and stars respectively:" yet, so truly, did the mantle of St. Patrick's inspiration and zeal and activity fall on them *all*, and, so closely did they *all* continue to tread in the steps of their venerable apostle, that, in a little more than a century after the death of Patrick, paganism, as a system, had entirely disappeared; Christianity had become the established national religion: *the bishops and abbots having now* (A. D. 590) *seats in the convention of the states general of the kingdom*; (16) religious houses and colleges every where—literally every where—lifted their heads, so that it would be difficult to specify their names or count their number,—all open, gratuitously, to strangers as well as to natives, and all of the greatest attraction to foreigners; and, what is a special mark of a flourishing Church, prospering under God's fostering hand, whole *colonies* of learned and zealous missionaries had already left the Irish shores, and carried the gospel into heathen lands; not merely into Saxon-England and Caledonia, and the continent; but even into the cold Orkney and Shetland Isles, yea, and into the frozen regions of Iceland. And all this again,—and note it well,—without any application to, any sanction from, any consultation with, or, so far as it appears, even any thought of, the pope of Rome:—except, indeed, to oppose him where he interfered, or wherever they thought him wrong. As we shall see.

q Fundatores ecclesiarum.

r Consortia mulierum.—See *Appendix*.

Now, as the missions and schools of the early Irish Church, form two most important features of its history, a brief notice of both will be desirable. And, here, as to *the missions*, (the schools shall be reserved for the next chapter,) there is but room, in this sketch, barely to mention, the names of their leaders; and, then, to give a concise specimen of the character of their labours.

(1) And, *first*, I need but remind the reader of the illustrious name of *Columba*, or as he is more commonly called *Colum-Kill*, (*s*) of the royal blood of Ireland, and apostle of the highlands and the western isles; “the father of the sainted family of Iona,” (*t*) as they were called, and the founder of the memorable Culdee establishments of north Britain; (17) where he laboured with his host of followers, for thirty successive years, amidst the same perils and hardships, as Patrick had to contend with in Ireland, and where the same success crowned his zeal and piety. “We were now” says the English sage, “treading that illustrious island, (Iona) which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions; whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion.” “That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not glow in the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer amid the ruins of Iona.

(2.) To the same period belonged *Columbanus*, who, with St. Gall and eleven other devoted missionaries, carried the light of the gospel, amid continual hardships and persecutions for twenty-five years, successively through Gaul, Alsace, Switzerland, Suabia, Lombardy, leaving missionary stations behind him as he passed on; and whose answer to Clothair, the then reigning monarch of the Franks, is justly celebrated as a monument at once of the purity of the motives, and the disinterestedness of the zeal, of the Irish missionaries. When tempted by the king, with the promise of the highest rewards and honours “to settle in his kingdom and fix their residence at his court,” Columbanus, animated by the spirit of his divine Master, and having but one object of ambition in view,—the winning of souls to Christ,—replied “that, so far from coveting the wealth of others, they had, for Christ’s sake, renounced their own.” We shall quote, largely, from the writings of this noble Irish missionary, in our second part. (*u*)

s That is “the Dove of the Churches,” to distinguish him from others of the same name, and because he was the father of above one hundred monasteries. Columba died at Iona, A. D. 597, aged 75.

t A little Island off the Mull of Galloway, anciently called Hi or I, where Columba first settled.

u He set out from Ireland, A. D. 590, and died at his own monastery of Bobio, in Italy, 615. The town, San Colombano, in Italy, owes its name to him.

(3.) Then, *thirdly*, it would be ungrateful to forget, that nearly of the same age were the illustrious apostles of this land,—*Aidan, Finan, Colman, Tuda, Ceadda, Cedd, Diuma, Cellagh, Fursey*; under whose successful auspices, the whole of the heptarchy, from the Thames, including Essex, to the friths of Forth and Clyde, was enlightened with the knowledge of a Saviour; (*u*) and to whose zeal and sanctity, and disinterested self-denying labours, Bede, though an enemy to their anti-Roman practices, renders the most ample testimony.

(4.) But, all wonder at these early Irish missions, ceases, when we reflect on that, to the frozen regions of the ancient *Thule* (*v*) or Iceland, as it is now called. That the Irish had their missionary stations in Iceland, even as early, if not prior to these times; and that they continued their labours there, relieving each other, by turns, and after certain periods of service, till expelled by the Norwegian invaders in the ninth century, is unquestionable. The fact rests upon undoubted evidence, and its truth is borne out by the reluctant admissions of the Islandic historians themselves; though some of them seem disposed (*w*) to disguise the matter. When Ingolfr, the Norwegian invader, arrived in Iceland, "There were, then," (says Ara, the Islandic historian,) (*x*) "*Christians* there, whom the Norwegians call *Papas*; and they afterwards quitted the country, because they did not like to live with heathens. But they left behind them *Irish books*, bells, and staffs (crostiers); whence it was easy to perceive that they were *Irishmen*." (*y*) And, says another of those writers, "There were left, by them, *Irish books*, bells, and crooked staffs; and several other things were found, which seemed to indicate that they were west-men. These articles were found in *Papeya*, towards the east, and in *Papyli*;"—names, the reader will mark, plainly indicative of those places having been the first missionary stations of "*the Papas*," that is, of the *Fathers*; (*z*) and there are many of them in Iceland and its appendant islands to this day: *Papay*, *Paplay*, i. e. Father-town, Father-isle, &c.

This, surely, is a most interesting fact: and nothing, I think, can more

u See my Lecture on the Antiquity of the Church of England.

v Whether Iceland was the Thule, so often mentioned by the Greek and Latin Classics, is still a question; but it is certain that it was the Island which the Irish called *Thyle* or *Inis Thyle*, i. e. the Island of Thyle.

w Some of them pretend it was not inhabited so early; which is contrary to fact.

x Ara Multeisins, D. Lanigan, Citante.

y They were expelled: otherwise they would have taken their books, &c. with them.

z *Father* is the common appellative of all Romish Clergymen in Ireland; and the Latin word "*Papa*" is applied in the Irish annals, not only to Bishops, but even to Abbots.

strikingly mark the spirit and character of the Irish Church, at this time, than the efforts thus made to carry the light of the gospel into those dismal northern tracts, and to melt under the bright and cheering beams of a Saviour's love and grace, the ice-bound hearts of the frigid zone. (a)

(5.) Now, passing over many subsequent missions of the Irish,—indeed, the continent was crowded with Irish clergymen during the subsequent centuries, (18)—I shall close this notice with a few extracts from Bede, merely as a *specimen* of the character of those early Irish missionaries. Thus, speaking of Colum-Kill, the apostle of the highlands, Bede says, “Of whose life and preaching, his disciples are said to have some writings; but, whatever he was himself, this we know, for certain, of him, that he left a succession of men, renowned for their great continence, their love of God, and their regular discipline.”—(*Eccles. Hist. book 3, c. 4.*) Again, speaking of Aidan, the first bishop of Lindisfarne, and contrasting his character with that of the degenerate teachers of his own times in England, he says,—

“Of whose doctrine this was the special commendation, that he did not teach otherwise than as he lived; for he neither sought the things of this world nor cared for them. Whatsoever was given him by the great or the wealthy it was his delight to distribute, forthwith, among the poor. In his ‘constant journeyings,’ every where, through the towns and country places, he travelled, not on horseback, (unless when necessity compelled him) but *on foot*, (b) to the end, that as he went along he might preach to all he met, whether rich or poor; that, if pagans, he might invite them to the Christian faith; or, if already Christians, he might confirm their faith, and encourage them, by words and deeds, to the performance of good works. And, so widely did his way of living differ from the laziness of our times, that he made it a rule, that all who went with him, whether of the clergy or THE LAITY, should give themselves to meditation, that is, either TO THE READING OF THE SCRIPTURES OR THE LEARNING OF THE PSALMS. THIS WAS his own daily occupation, and that of all who accompanied him, wherever they happened to be or to lodge, even though it were in the king's palace;—which latter case, however, very rarely happened.” (*Ibid*, c. 5.) And,

a For the fact of the Irish having penetrated to, and discovered, America, even as early as the fifth century, see *Appendix*.

b After the example of Patrick, whom the foolish life-writers, after the fashion of their own times, make to ride in a chariot, and live in a palace; and they talk of his charioteer, &c., the officers of his household, &c., &c. It is hoped the reader will be cautious of what he reads in the so-called *lives and histories* of our saints. Even our historians, in their notices, follow the legends.

again, upon the expulsion of Colman, from Lindisfarne, by the prevalence of the Roman party, (A. D. 664,) (19) speaking of the whole body of the Irish missionaries, he says,—

“How parsimonious, and how disinterested and strict in their manner of life, he (Colman) and his predecessors were, even the very place which they governed testified, by its simplicity and plainness; for, upon their departure, very few houses, the Church excepted, were found there, and those only such, that, without them, there could be no civil existence. They had no money, possessing only some cattle. For whatever money they received from the rich, they immediately gave to the poor. Nor, indeed, had they need to collect monies, or provide houses, for the reception of the great men of the world: (c) who, then, never came to the Church, but only to pray or *hear THE WORD OF GOD*. (d) This was the case, even with the king himself and his retinue, who, if it ever so happened, that they *did* take any refreshment, were content with the simple and daily food of the brethren. For, *then*, the whole solicitude of those teachers was to serve God, not the world; their whole care was to cultivate the heart, not the belly. Consequently, the religious habit was, *at that time*, in great veneration; so that, wherever a clergyman or monk appeared, he was welcomed by all, with joy, as God’s servant; and they listened earnestly to his preaching. And, on the Lord’s days, they flocked with eagerness to the Church or to the monasteries, not for the sake of refreshing their bodies, but *OF HEARING THE WORD OF GOD*; and, if a priest happened to come to a village, the villagers immediately gathered around him, and asked him *FOR THE WORD OF GOD*. Nor had the clergy themselves any other motive for going to the villages, than to preach, to baptize, to visit the sick, in one word, the cure of souls, &c.; and so far were they from the pest of avarice, that it was even with reluctance (e) they accepted *TERRITORIES* and *POSSESSIONS from the secular powers, for the building of Churches and Monasteries*. All which customs (f) continued for some time after in the Churches of the Northumbrians.” (g)—*Ibid*, c. 26.

c As was becoming the fashion in Bede’s time.

d It is worthy of remark, that we never meet, in those early documents, with the common *modern* phrases, “going to hear mass,” “to say mass.” Let the reader note that, in those early times, to be present at the celebration of the Lord’s Supper, and not to partake of the consecrated elements of bread and wine, was a crime, amounting to excommunication. We have many ancient canons of the Church to this effect. But now, “to *hear mass*” is the universal phrase, and all but the universal fashion.

e *Nemo nisi coactus*.

f *Quæ consuetudo per omnia*.

g The Northumbrian kingdom extended from Mercia (the Midland Counties) to the friths of Forth and Clyde.

O

So far, then, from the venerable Bede, merely as a specimen of the spirit and character of the Irish missionaries of this early period, (the sixth and seventh centuries) and, by consequence, a specimen of the schools which nurtured them, and of the whole Church which sent them forth: and all this, the reader will still bear in mind, while that Church not only held no communion with, but even actually opposed, the Church of Rome; and *that*, not in the matter of easter merely, "but in a great variety of other things," (says Bede,) as we shall see in our second part.

FIFTH CHAPTER.

IRISH COLLEGES AND OTHER PIOUS FOUNDATIONS.

To these pious foundations we have already often referred, and we have intimated that, in imitation of Patrick, to erect such, wherever there was a Church, was the fashion of the times. So it was with Columba, in Albania; and with Aidan and his successors, in England; and with Columbanus and his disciples, on the Continent. (*h*) And so it was in Ireland: Patrick's barn (*i*) is a specimen; and we may say, with truth, in general terms, that to found a school, wherever there was a Church, was not only the constant practice of Patrick himself, but that also of his disciples and successors, in all parts of the kingdom, during that and the subsequent ages. Indeed, there were such schools in Ireland long before Patrick's time, as was intimated in our notice of Celleagh and Sedulius. (*k*) They are called *Cænobia* (communities) or monasteria, in the Latin documents; but I have thought it right to render both these words, by the word schools or colleges, as Bede himself often does;—(*l*) first, because such was really their character in the Irish Church, and its off-shoots, at this time; and, secondly, because the truth of history requires that we should carefully distinguish them from the monasteries, strictly so-called, which, in the *twelfth and thirteenth* centuries, were obtruded upon them and supplanted them. They were, in fact, the great missionary stations of the age, or, as Archbishop Usher expresses it, "The seminaries of the ministry: being, as it were, so many *colleges* of learned men, whereunto, the people did usually resort for instruction, and from whence the Church was wont to be continually supplied with able ministers." The founders

h See Note *a*, p. 18.

i Chap. 2.

k Chap. 1, p. 3.

l For instance, he says of Iona, "*ex eo collegio*."

of these institutions, as we have seen, were almost all of royal or noble blood; and the inmates divided their time between devotion and study, preaching and teaching, and manual labour. By turns they cultivated the field or dressed the orchard; and many of the forests and waste lands, not only in Ireland and north and south Britian, but even on the Continent, owe their present cultivation to their labour; and where, once, there was nothing to be seen but an Irish monastery, in the midst of a desert, are now * * * cities great and flourishing (20) These noble divines, like St. Paul, preaching the gospel to, and reclaiming, barbarous peoples, maintained themselves by the labour of their own hands, lest the gospel should be hindered; and the only thing they can be said to have possessed in common with the monkery which was afterwards forced upon them, is that they resided within the same enclosures, and observed a *strict and rigid rule of discipline*, as all must who live in community. They did not like modern monks associate for the superstitious purpose of *obeying the rule*; but rather *obeyed the rule for the holy purposes* of their associating,—the advancement, namely, of the interests of religion, sacred learning and civilization. In short, the Irish abbies and monasteries of this period were on the plan of those, of Tours and Lerins, in which St. Patrick, *who never became a monk*, (says Dr. Lanigan) successively studied: and *these*, the same learned Romanist tells us, “were not merely monasteries in the strict sense of the word, such as those that anciently existed in Ægypt, * * * or the Benedictine and other monasteries that commenced in the west, after the times we are now treating of (fifth century); but rather *colleges*, in which a bishop lived with some of his clergy, or with persons retired from the world; and in which, young men were instructed and prepared for the service of the Church. As certain *rules*, (he adds) similar to those of monastic houses, were observed in such establishments; they also began to be called monasteries.” (m) And, so he repeatedly calls those of Ireland, “Ecclesiastical *Schools* or *Seminaries*,” (says he) “under the name of monasteries, were established and governed by several Irish prelates of this period.” (n) And says O’Halloran, “Every religious foundation in Ireland, in these days, included a *school*, or, indeed, rather, *academy* ;” and of their number, he says, “The abbies and monasteries, founded in this century (the sixth) are astonishingly numerous, and proclaim the piety and liberality of the people.” And again, treating of the seventh century, he adds, “The abbies and other munificent foundations, of this age, seem to have exceeded the former ones,” and “are too numerous to be recited in a work like this. (o) In fine, that “these numerous and

munificent foundations" were altogether different from the monkery of Rome, and continued so, even to the twelfth century, we know, on unquestionable contemporary testimony;—that, namely, of Malachie himself, the first chief Irish *agitator* and innovator in favour of Rome. (*p*) The life of this Irish bishop is written by his contemporary, the well-known St. Bernard of Claervaux, in France; and the testimony I refer to, is thus given by Dr. Lanigan, from this work of Bernard. "St. Malachie, on his return to Ireland," (after a treacherous visit made to Rome) "called again at Claervaux, * * * and left four of his companions in that monastery, for the purpose of learning *its rules and regulations*, and of their being in due time qualified to *introduce them into Ireland*. He said, on this occasion, '*they will serve us for seed, and in this seed nations will be blessed, even those nations, which, from old time, HAVE HEARD OF THE NAME OF MONK, BUT HAVE NEVER SEEN A MONK.*'" (*q*) This was in the year 1140; and it is indubitable proof that the Irish tribes, though their land was covered with monasteries, were yet in happy ignorance of *monkery*: yet, had never, as a people, seen or known A MONK. And this important and interesting fact is still further confirmed, by another passage from Bernard. In a letter addressed to this same new Irish-Church reformer, Malachie, (one or two years after he had introduced the said seeds of monkery into Ireland,) the same Bernard says,—“and since you have yet need of great vigilance, as in a new place, and in a land that has been hitherto *unused to*, yea that has never yet had *any trial of, monastic religion*: (*r*) withhold not your hand, I beseech you, but go on to perfect that which you have so well begun.” And again he says, “*things of which the brethren, who are of that country, HAVE NO EXPERIENCE.*” (21) These testimonies are decisive of the character of our ancient foundations.

Now, as to the course pursued in these numerous colleges, the reader will observe, that it was not confined to theology, but embraced a wide and varied field, comprising the languages—Hebrew included—law, medicine, the fine arts, philosophy, science, and, in short, whatever could render the sacred office of the ministry respectable and useful. Yet the study of the SCRIPTURES was the primary and paramount study: the main object of the schools being that they should be well-springs of gospel light, “and that the Lord might always have a seed to serve him, who should be accounted to him for a generation, and declare his righteousness to a people yet unborn.”

p Of this, more in our second part.

q Lanigan, vol. 4, p. 112.

r Terra jam insueta, inamo et inexperta monastica religionis.

Such, then, were the admirable institutions, introduced by Patrick into the *whole* Irish Church, for the two great branches of the Christian ministry, *preaching* and *teaching*: and they so multiplied, in one or two centuries, after his departure, under the fostering hands of the kings and princes, and leading Irish families, that they were now in every part of the kingdom,—not only wherever there was the seat of a bishop, (which, be it remembered, were exceedingly numerous,) (r) but almost wherever there was a Church; and they were all filled with inmates, foreigners as well as natives, from the prince to the peasant, and from the infant of days to the senior tottering with years.

Thus, at Banchor, (s) there were, at one time, three thousand students; at Lismore, as many under Saint Finian; at Clonard, nearly the same number; at Armagh, one quarter of the city was allotted to, and filled with, foreigners; at Muinighard, near Limerick, were fifteen hundred members; of whom five hundred devoted themselves to preaching, five hundred more to the choir, and five hundred seniors to teaching and to spiritual exercises;—and so on of other establishments. I give these merely as a specimen of the colleges of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries; and the reader will not wonder at the numbers, either of the pious foundations, or of the members in each: not at the first, when he bears in mind that, to the labours of the Christians was owing the reclaiming of the waste lands of the country; and that, upon the establishment of Christianity, the bishops and abbots succeeded to the possessions and dignities of the Druids, which were immense: nor at the latter, when he takes into account, that so famous were these learned establishments, that not the pious only, but the studious also, flocked to Ireland, in those times, from all parts of Europe. (22) Neither will he wonder at this last circumstance,—this thronging, namely, of strangers to the Irish schools, when he learns, withal, that the schools themselves were founded by the secular powers on so generous and extensive a plan, that in them, not natives only, but foreigners also, were found, with every commodity, *gratuitously*. So Bede testifies, who, speaking of the times of Aidan and Colman, (A. D. 630 to 664) says, "There were, at that time, in Ireland, many, both of the nobility and of the middle classes of the English nation, who, having left their native island, had retired thither for the sake of *READING GOD'S WORD*, or leading a more holy life. * * * * All whom the Irish receiving most warmly, supplied, not only with daily food, *free of charge*, but even with books to read, (t) and masters to teach *gratuitously*." (u) (23)

r There were twelve Bishops' sees in Meath alone.

s That is, the White-Choir.

t Then so scarce an article.

u Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* b; 3 c. 27.

I need only add, that, from all these circumstances, it is that Ireland has been called, even from those early times, by the venerable names, "*The Asylum of Piety*," "*The Retreat of Sacred Learning*," "*The Island of Saints and Doctors, and the Teacher of Europe*."

SIXTH CHAPTER

THE TESTIMONY OF FOREIGNERS, TO THE CELEBRITY OF THE IRISH CHURCH; CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Now, a few extracts here from foreign writers, bearing testimony to the celebrity of the Irish Church, and the high reputation which her sons continued to maintain, even onward to the fatal union with Rome, will form a suitable conclusion to this our first part, and will not, it is hoped, be unacceptable to the reader.

"If we except" (says Mosheim, speaking of the eighth century) "some poor remains of learning, which were yet to be found at Rome, and in certain cities of Italy; the sciences seem to have abandoned the Continent, and fixed their residence in *Ireland* and Britain." Again, "That the Hibernians were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves in these times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences beyond all other European nations, travelling into the most distant lands, both with a view to improve and communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have been long acquainted; as we see them in the most authentic records of antiquity, discharging with the highest reputation and applause, the functions of doctors in France, Germany, and Italy, both during this and the following century," (i. e. the eighth and ninth centuries.) "But, that these Hibernians were the first teachers of the *scholastic theology* in Europe, and so early as the eighth century illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I learned but lately, from the testimony of Benedict Abbott, of Aniane, who lived in this period, and some of whose productions are published by Balusius. * * * From whence it appears, that the philosophical or scholastic theology among the Latins, is of more ancient date than is commonly imagined."—(*Cent. 8: Part 2, c. 3, note.*)

In the following testimonies the reader will see that, that doctrine which constitutes the very essence of the difference between Romanism and Protestantism,—that, namely, of the right and the exercise of private judgment,—was, while lost sight of by the rest of Christendom, still the

doctrine of the Irish Church, and tenaciously held to by her sons. "The Irish or Hibernians, who, in this century, were known by the name of *Scots*, were the only divines who refused to dishonour their reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictates of authority. Naturally subtle and sagacious, they applied their philosophy, such as it was, to the illustration of the truth and doctrines of religion: a method which was almost generally abhorred and exploded in all other nations."

Again, speaking of "the contemptible teachers of theology," in the ninth century, "among the Greeks and Latins," and of their method of interpreting Scripture, he says, "With them, authority became the test of truth, and supplied in arrogance what it wanted in argument." * * * If any deigned to appeal to the authority of the Scriptures in defence of their systems, they either explained them in an allegorical manner, or understood them in the sense that had been given to them by the decrees of councils, or in the writings of the fathers; from which senses they thought it both unlawful and impious to depart. *The Irish doctors alone, and particularly Johannes Scotus, had the courage to spurn the ignominious fetters of authority, and to explain the sublime doctrines of christianity in a manner conformable to the dictates of reason, and the principles of true philosophy. But this noble attempt drew upon them the malignant fury of a superstitious age, and exposed them to the hatred of the Latin theologists, who would not permit either reason or philosophy to meddle themselves in religious matters.*"—*Cent. 9, c. 3, § 10.*

Now, to all this I need only add—

(1) The testimony of Brick of Auxerre, a French writer of the ninth century, who was an eye-witness, and who exclaims in a letter to his monarch, Charles the Bald, "Why need I mention Ireland? That whole nation almost, despising the dangers of the sea, resorts to our shores with her vast train of philosophers; of whom the most learned enjoin themselves a voluntary exile, that they may devote themselves to the service of our most wise Solomon." (v)

(2) That of Curio, an Italian, who, in his work on chronology, exclaims, "Hitherto it would seem that the studies of wisdom would have quite perished, had not God reserved to us a seed in some corner of the world. Among the *Scots* and *Irish* something still remained of the doctrine of the knowledge of God, and of civilization (*civilis honestas*): because there was no terror of arms in those utmost ends of the earth. And, we may there behold and adore the great goodness of God, that among the *Scots*, and in those places where no man could have thought it, so great companies had gathered themselves together, under a most strict discipline."—(*Rerum chronolog. Lib. 2, Usher. Citante.*)

v *Preface to the Acts of Germanus*

And (3) that of our own Camden, who says,—

"The disciples of St. Patrick profited so notably in Christianity, that, in the succeeding age, nothing was accounted more holy, more learned, than the Scottish monks: insomuch that they sent out swarms of most holy men into every part of Europe, who founded the abbeys of Lieuxen, in Burgundy; Bobbé, in Italy; Wirtzburg, in Franconia; St. Gall, in Switzerland; Malmsbury, Lindisfarne, with many others in Britain. In that age our Anglo-Saxons flocked, from every quarter, into Ireland, as to the *emporium* of sound literature. And, hence, it is that, in our accounts of holy men, we frequently read; *amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam*, he was sent for education to Ireland." (w)

I must now leave the reader to his reflections, and hasten to a conclusion; I must remember I am drawing a sketch, not writing a history. It would be delightful, indeed, to dwell on the period of Irish Church history, which we have so rapidly passed over; but to do so would defeat our object, which is to be brief, and so, within the reach of the many. Our sketch, we trust, will suffice for this purpose. It will be refreshing, to the ecclesiastical reader, to turn away from the sickening aspect of the Church every where else at this period, and, for a while, fix his eye here. It will be refreshing to him, while, wherever else he looks, he has to weep over a declining Church, to see her here in her primitive growth and first love. While, on the vast theatre of the Roman world, he beholds corruption and decay, from various causes, laying fast hold of her vitals, it will be a relief to him to see her here still youthful, vigorous, and flourishing. Yes, while in the east and in the west, he fearfully contemplates the mass of the heathen, under the smiles of the imperial favour, thronging in upon the Church, more from fashion than conviction, more from the prospect of gain, or the fear of loss, than from the native influence of the religion of JESUS; while he dolefully marks how the Church is being *literally* secularized; how she is coming rapidly down to the low level of the world; how wealth and lordliness and avarice, pride, ambition, and strife, are corrupting and debasing the higher *orders* of her sons; and all *orders* are sinking apace into indolence or apathy,—or contending with one another for jurisdictions and precedencies,—or wasting, in vain jangling and idle disputation for a form or ceremony, or a superstition, that zeal and energy which should have been devoted to the preaching of the gospel and the culture of piety; and how, awfully to aggravate the evil,—while the heads of the

so Camden's *Britannia*, vol. 3. The phrase quoted by Camden was the ordinary commendation, at once, of a man's learning and piety; and O'Halloran says "It was a proverb abroad when any one was missing."

Church are being carried from one end of the empire to the other, gravely to determine upon some solemn trifle "light as air,"—innumerable swarms of savages are rushing in like a deluge over the face of Christendom, desolating the fairest regions of the Church, and either utterly extinguishing the light of the gospel, or blighting its truths with the deadly shade of their barbarism :—oh, is it not a relief to turn to our lonely and sequestered isle, and see how all here is activity and energy and spiritual effort? unity, harmony, and love; apostolic plainness and primitive simplicity,—at least, a happy ignorance of, if not a studied aversion to, that growing mass of superstitious ceremony and shewy ritualism, which every where else is darkening the gospel of JESUS, and hiding its lovely features from the view of the ignorant and the perishing? And to notice but one contrast more, is it not most cheering to observe that, while in every other province of Christendom, *the RELIGION OF RELICS*, and a religion to the pious dead—to the departed saints and the Virgin,—are overspreading the Church, and supplanting *THE RELIGION OF JESUS*; while there is a growing rage for this *new* worship; while magnificent temples are every where rising to the honour of these *new* deities; and while a persuasion is every where laying hold of the hearts of men, that the individuals are most safe who are most devoted to their service; and that the kingdoms, and provinces, and cities, and towns, and villages, where they are most honoured with temples and festivals, are the most secure from every kind of evil,—is it not, I say, most cheering to observe here, that so little thought have they of *any religion of bones and ashes*, that the greatest saints are buried, like Patrick, in so obscure a grave, that, at a subsequent age, when that taint comes in, it is not known where their bones lie; (*) and that, though in every page almost of Irish Church history of this period, we read of the erecting of Churches, and the founding of monasteries, yet, not in one single instance do we read of a Church or a monastery being dedicated to, or named after, a single departed saint of the Roman calendar, no not even to the Virgin Mother. They are all consecrated, it is true; but *it is to the TRINITY ONLY*, and by the simple rite of fasting and prayer :—so much so, that it was a wonder to Bede; and he gives that of the Church of Lestinghae, as a curious instance. (†) They are, too, of the simplest structure, (as in Wales, at the same period,) with their *honest wooden tables*; and they are simply named after their founder or first minister,

* For the discovery by *miraculous agency* of the relics of Patrick, Brigid, and Columba, so late as the year 1186, see *Appendix 24*.

† Book 3, c. 23 Hence it is that after the expulsion of the Irish missionaries, the Churches dedicated by them were consecrated afresh after the Roman fashion, and dedicated to saints of the Romiah Calendar.—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 23 and 25.—See *Appendix*.

as, for instance, Kill-Colman, Kill-Conal, Kill-Mac-Duach, *i. e.* the Church of Colman, &c.; or, they are named from some local circumstance, as Kill-Dara, the Church of the oaks; *Kill-More*, the Great Church, or *Skibhal, the Barn*. And to this day, as in Wales, (*x*) so also in Ireland and north Britain, we may adopt, I apprehend, as a safe rule, by which to distinguish the old primitive Churches and parishes from the more modern ones, the simple circumstance, that *the former* have *Irish* names attached to them, while *the latter* are marked by names *from the Roman calendar*. (24)

x See "*An Essay on the Welsh Saints*," by the Rev. Rice Rees, a work in which this rule is used with success.

SECOND PART.

FIRST CHAPTER.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: PLAN OF THIS PART: RULE OF FAITH.

HITHERTO we have endeavoured to keep our two subjects as distinct as we well could, confining the attention of the reader to the external history of the Early Irish Church, and anticipating no more of our second head than the occasion called for. We have now to look, more particularly, into the internal character of the period, which we have passed over, and give a brief view of *the Christianity* of the early Irish Church: our object being to shew, by positive and authentic proofs, that the religion professed by the whole Irish nation, in the year 590, (when, as we have seen, Christianity was already the state-religion,) was, in all its essential parts, literally the same as that now established in that country, and that it continued *substantially* the same for ages after, even till the disastrous union with Rome. Of course, when I say *substantially the same for ages after*, I do not pretend to affirm that *no* errors had crept into the Irish Church, during the long period that elapsed from the time of Patrick to the year 1152. No: we must bear in mind, that "*The mystery of iniquity was already working*," even in the days of the apostles; and that, even then, the tares began to be sown with the wheat in every portion of the Lord's vineyard; and it would be absurd to expect that Christianity, even in our remote corner of the world, should have *entirely* escaped the spreading contagion. But, whatever the corruptions, which in the lapse of time, and at a much later period, might have crept into the Irish Church, as into other portions of the Church Catholic, we shall hardly find any thing, at this early age, to countenance the pretensions of the see of Rome, or to give any sanction whatever to the corruptions and fables established at Trent. Nay, on the contrary, we have, in Irish documents, abundance of *positive*, as well as of *negative*, testimony, all quite adverse to the Roman novelties, and all of such a character as to shew a full *conformity between the Church of St. Patrick and his followers for ages, and the Church now established in Ireland*,—that is to say, A LITERAL, yea, even VERBAL, conformity in all our *positive*, articles; and a SUBSTANTIAL one, in all that are *negative* and *protestant*. And this latter case is wonderful, under the circumstances.

For it must be borne in mind, that the writings of that early age were not of a controversial character, especially on the doctrines now at issue between Christianity and Romanism. These doctrines were not yet introduced. Popery, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, is but modern, comparatively speaking; and, accordingly, whatever light ancient Irish documents afford us, bearing on the subject, must, from the very nature of the case, be of an indirect and incidental character: but even what is afforded us in this way, is proof enough of **THE PROTESTANTISM** of the early Irish Church. Even this is evidence enough of the novelty of the religion, since then, introduced by the papal party; and is quite sufficient to put beyond a doubt, in every unprejudiced mind, the important fact, that the present established Church in Ireland, is *the direct literal descendant* in DOCTRINE, (as she is in *succession*), and, consequently, *the rightful heir*, of **THE ENDOWMENTS**, of the early Irish Church.

I proceed, now, to put some of this evidence before the reader; and, in doing so, I shall take this method: as the articles of our Church are naturally divisible into two classes, first, *the positive and doctrinal*; secondly, *the negative and protestant*; so following this order, I shall shew, in the first place, a *literal* coincidence of the early Irish Church with *the former*; and then, in the second place, a *substantial* coincidence with *the latter*.

And we begin with that which lies at the foundation of all true doctrine, namely,—

THE RULE OF FAITH.

Now, on this head, we have anticipated much. In the history of Patrick and his followers, we have seen the Irish Church acknowledging no head but Christ, and following her own discretion in all things. We have seen the same in our quotations from Mosheim. That the Irish divines, setting aside authority, even in the ninth century, judged for themselves on the Word of God, is the brief summary of the testimony of that historian. And *this*, be it remembered, is the very essence of the difference between a protestant Church and the Romish communion: yea, it is **THE Principle** of the Reformation, and the very basis upon which it has been established. But we are not left to inference upon this all-important subject. That the Irish Church acknowledged no rule of faith but that of the Scriptures, we know on better, because more ancient, authority than that of Mosheim. Indeed, their rigid adherence to this rule, as their fundamental principle, was the cause of their peculiarities in the matter of Easter, and of their opposing the Roman manner. They tenaciously held to what they found written, in opposition to

the decrees of councils and synods. Bede himself tells us as much. Lamenting their *obstinacy*, as he deemed it, and offering a charitable excuse for it, he says—

*"For dwelling far without the habitable globe, and, consequently, beyond the reach of the decrees of synods, * * * * * they could (y) learn ONLY THOSE THINGS CONTAINED IN THE WRITINGS OF THE PROPHETS, THE EVANGELISTS, AND THE APOSTLES; while they diligently observed the works of piety and love."*—Book 3, c. 4.

Here, then, is a plain proof that the rule of faith, in the Irish Church and its branches, in the days of Bede, (z) was *the Bible, and the Bible only*. The description "The Prophets, the Evangelists, and the Apostles," was, anciently, the usual one for the Old Testament, the four Gospels, and the Epistles, that is, *for the whole inspired Canon*. And, hence it is, that Bede says again, "They had a zeal for God, but not altogether according to knowledge."

Again, says Bede, speaking of Aidan, the first Bishop of Lindisfarne, "He took care to omit nothing of all the *things in the Evangelical, Apostolical, and Prophetical writings*, which he knew ought to be done, but strove to fulfil them all to the best of his abilities."—*Ibid.* c. 14. And, yet all this Bede qualifies by saying—"He had a zeal for God, but not altogether according to knowledge." (1)

But, this is not all, we have still more decisive testimony: the Irish divines speak for themselves, and leave us in no doubt on this all-important point. Thus, Sedulius on the text,—*"Be ye not unwise, but understanding,"* says, "that is, *search diligently the law, IN WHICH THE WILL OF GOD IS CONTAINED.*"—(*Sedul. on Eph. v.*) Again, "He wishes to be more wise than he ought, who searches those things which the law does not speak of."—(*Id. on Rom. xii.*) And, so, even in the ninth century, Claudius Scotus, another Irish commentator (a) declares the same doctrine, and lays down, as a general rule, that well-known Canon, "This, because it has no authority from the Scriptures, is denied with the same facility with which it is asserted."—"Men err on this account, namely, because they know not the Scriptures; and, because they are ignorant of the Scriptures, they, consequently, know not the power of God,—that is, Christ, who is the power of God, and the wisdom of God." (b) (2)

y Bede puts it, as though the reason was that they did not know the synodal decrees; but that this is not true we shall see anon.

z Bede died A. D. 735.

a His work, in a preface by himself, is dated A. D. 815. *Usher's Sylloge.*

b *Claud. Scot. on Matthew. Usher. Oitante.*

D

Now, I know not, whether, under the circumstances, these commentators could have declared in stronger terms, the sum and substance of that primary article of our Church, which asserts "*The sufficiency of Holy Scripture for salvation.*" Indeed, if the reader will compare that article with the language quoted above, he will not hesitate to say that the latter is the stronger of the two.

And, yet we can go farther still: we have the express statements of the Irish doctors, in direct controversy on the subject. Thus, for example, Columbanus, at the head of his band of missionaries, is persecuted on the continent by the Bishops of the place for his peculiar customs in the matter of Easter. He writes to Pope Gregory on the subject: he shews the Irish Pasch to be *strictly scriptural*; and then ridiculing the vulgar objection made against it, "as frivolous and silly,"—namely, "*That it was the same with that of the Jews,*"—he warns the Pope "*That to add ought of our own to the Scriptural Pasch, would be to incur the censure of that divine command in Deuteronomy, (c. iv. 2,) 'Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it.'*" Again, having shewn that the Irish Pasch was the same as that approved by St. Jerome, he adds, "Spare those that are weak in this matter; for my part, I freely confess to you, that any one, contravening the authority of St. Jerome, will be rejected as a heretic in the western Churches, (that is, the Irish and British). For, to him, they (those Churches) accommodate their faith, WHICH, IN ALL THINGS, THEY INDUBITABLY GROUND ON THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES." (*)

Could language be more antipapistical? Here, you see, the Irish Church was not ignorant of the *synodal decrees*, (as Bede supposed), though dwelling without the world. No,—they knew them well, but they rejected them, *because they believed them UNSCRIPTURAL*; and they followed the rule of Jerome, because they believed *that scriptural*. Let the reader compare this with the spirit and language, not only of our sixth, but of our eighth, article, and he will see the striking coincidence. Our Church receives "The Three Creeds," not because they have been received by the Church heretofore,—(that is well), but because "*They may be proved by most certain warrants of HOLY SCRIPTURE.*" So the Irish Church followed the Paschal rule of St. Jerome, not because it was St. Jerome's, but because it was in accordance with THEIR FOUNDATION PRINCIPLE, which was "*to ground THEIR FAITH INDUBITABLY IN ALL THINGS ON THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES.*"

Moreover, he writes, at the same time, a very feeling letter to the local Bishops, who were making an outcry about his violating the *Canons*,

* Oper. Columb. in Biblioth. Vet. Pat. per Galland.—See Appendix 3.

and were holding a council, at the time, to determine what they should do with him; and he says, "He thanks God that he is the cause of their, at length, holding a council 'according to the Canons;' and he wishes they may do so once or twice a year, as 'the Canons' enjoin, and the confusion and depravity of the times require." And, then, after a very feeling appeal to them on the duty of Pastors, according to the Scriptures; which he calls "THOSE TRUE AND SINGULAR CANONS of our Lord Jesus Christ;"—and after stating that the western Churches grounded their Pasch on the Scriptures, he exclaims, "FOR OUR CANONS are the commands of our Lord and his Apostles: THESE are OUR faith to! here are OUR arms, shield and sword: THESE are our defence (apologia): THESE have brought us hither from our Father-Land; THESE we strive to keep even here: in THESE we pray and desire to persevere unto death, as we have seen our elders also do." (*) I think I may safely say this is not only Protestantism, but almost ultra-Protestantism; and I know of but one parallel to it in spirit and language, namely, the well-known exclamation of Chillingworth, "*The Bible, the Bible, is the religion of Protestants.*" (3)

We need only add, (c) under this head, that, as there is this perfect harmony between the mother and the daughter, as to the Scriptures being the sole rule of faith; so there is the same harmony as to the free use of the Scriptures, and the obligation of all to read them and know them. Indeed, the rule (d) of Bishop Aidan and his fellow-missionaries in England, namely, "That all should give themselves to the reading of the Scriptures," was the rule of the whole Irish nation. It was the rule taught them by St. Patrick (e); who gives this description of the virtuous female, "She takes delight in, and conforms herself to, gracious habits; and by unceasing meditations on, and discoursings from, THE SCRIPTURES, she gives vigour and vegetation to the soul." (f) It was the rule, as we have seen, (g) of the innumerable schools; and the language, which Bede invariably applies to the persons educated in those schools, is, "Most learned in THE SCRIPTURES." It was the rule also, which the noble Columbanus laid down for his disciples on the Continent, in these words, "Let your riches be the teachings (dogmata) of the divine law;" (h) and of himself it is recorded by Jonas, the writer of his life, "That

* Works of Columb. as before.

c For the exclusion of the Apocrypha from the divine Canon in the Irish Church, see Appendix.

d See p. 24.

e p. 9.

f Et assiduâ scripturarum meditationibus et eloquiis animam vegetat.—His book on the Abuses of the Age, c. 5.

g p. 29.

h His Epistle to Hunaldus.

the treasures of the HOLY SCRIPTURES were so laid up in his heart (from boyhood), THAT WHILE HE WAS YET A YOUTH he put forth an elegant exposition on the Book of Psalms." And, to add but one case more, of a female disciple of his, the same author relates, "That lying on her death-bed, she used to have lights brought in at intervals, during the night-time, *that the sacred Scriptures might be read to her.*" Oh! what a contrast does Ireland now present! and what a blight has popery brought over her! The *multitude* of her sons would now laugh at what their sainted fathers regarded as one of their most sacred obligations, and most precious privileges!

SECOND CHAPTER.

CONFORMITY OF THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH WITH ALL OUR OTHER POSITIVE EVANGELICAL ARTICLES.

I have dwelt the more fully on the Rule of Faith, as well because it is the principle of the Reformation, and the prime essential difference between a Protestant and a Romish Church, as because the soundness of the early Irish Church on this great fundamental doctrine, is, itself, a strong presumption that she would be equally sound on all the other leading, positive articles of our Church. And so, accordingly, we find, that on the doctrines of the fall of man; of the original corruption of man's nature; of his condemnation and utter helplessness; of Christ as the alone Mediator and Saviour; of Christ alone without sin; of faith in Christ, as the only instrument of Justification; of the law; Free-will; works; merits; sanctification; predestination; election: we find, I say, that, on all these, the fundamental, primary, saving mysteries of the Christian faith, the teaching of the early Irish Church, like that of St. Patrick, was if any thing more *decisive and positive* than that of the Church of England. These doctrines are a summary of the positive Articles of our Church; and, if the reader will take those Articles along with him in his mind, and compare with them the following quotations from the Irish divines, he will see, at once, the *literal, verbal*, coincidence.

Thus says *Gallus*, the companion and fellow-labourer of Columbanus, "The Apostle says, He (God) hath chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world,—that is, *by his eternal predestination, his free calling, and his grace which was due to none.* * * * At length also, the creature thus *foreknown* and *predestinated* by his immoveable counsels,

he vouchsafed to create out of nothing, to praise him, and live blessed from Him, and in Him, and by Him. (i) "God" (says Sedulius on Rom. ix. 18,) "hath mercy with great goodness, and hardeneth without any iniquity: so that neither can he that is saved glory of his own merits, nor he that is lost complain but of his own merits. For GRACE ONLY it is that makes a difference between the redeemed and the lost: both having been framed together into one mass of perdition by a cause, derived from their common original (Adam); therefore, in mercy he hath mercy on whom He will, and in judgment he hardeneth whom He will; nor yet does He do anything unjustly. For He sees all mankind condemned with so just and divine a judgment, in their apostatical root, that, though a single soul were not delivered from that judgment, yet no one could rightly blame the justice of God; and, that by some being delivered, and others being left to their most just condemnation, it might be shewn what the whole tainted lump had deserved; * * * that so, the mouths of all those that would glory in their merits, might be stopped; and he that glorieth might glory in the Lord." (4)

Again, on

FREE-WILL,

He says, "Man, by making an ill use of his Free-will, lost both himself and it. For, like as a man who kills himself, is able, of course, to kill himself, because he lives, but by killing himself becomes unable to live, neither can raise himself again from the dead after he has killed himself: so, when sin was committed by means of Free-will, then, sin being the conqueror, *Free-will itself also was lost*; for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he also brought into bondage. (2 Pet. ii. 19.) But, to a man thus brought into bondage and sold, *whence can there be the liberty of doing good, unless He redeem him whose voice that is, 'If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed.'* I have planted, Apollos hath watered, but God hath given the increase." Again, "If no Christian will dare to say, (for so he should contradict the Apostle,) that it is not of God that sheweth mercy, but of the will of man: surely it follows that for this reason we should understand it, to be rightly said, 'not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy;' namely, that all should be ascribed to God; who both first gives a good will to man, and helps it when given. For the good will of man goeth before many gifts of God, but not all; and of those which it doth not go before, itself is one: for both these we read in the Sacred Oracles, '*His mercy shall go before me, and his mercy shall follow me:*' it goeth

i Sermon at Constance, in Gallandius, vol. xii.

before him that is unwilling, that he may *will*; and it followeth him that is *willing*, that he may not will in vain." (k) (5)

Claudius Scotus, also, another commentator, in the ninth century, speaks in the same sound, scriptural, evangelical strain. He says—"God is the author of all that is good in man; that is to say, *both of good nature and good-will, which, unless God do work in him, man cannot do*, because this good-will is prepared by the Lord in man; that, by the gift of God he may do that, which, of himself, he could not do by his own free-will." (l) (6)

Again, of the same sound character was their doctrine on

THE LAW.

"By the Law cometh neither the remission nor the removal, but the knowledge of sin." (*Sedul. on Rom. c. 3.*) "The Law worketh wrath to the sinner, because it *forgiveth not sins, but condemneth them.*" (*Id. on Rom. c. 4.*) "The Law is the index of sin, convicting sinners of their guilt. (*Id. on Rom. c. 7.*) "The Law was not given that it might take away sin, but that it might shut up all under sin, to the end that *men being by this means humbled, might understand that their salvation was not in their own hand, but in the hand of a mediator.*" (*Ibid on Gal. c. 3.*) (m) And so, in truth, it is throughout the whole Commentary of *Sedulius*; and so it was still taught even in the ninth age. *Claudius* says—"The Law only shews us our sins, but does not take them away." (*Comment. on Gal. c. 2.*) "It removeth not our diseases, but discovereth them." (*Ibid on Gal. c. 3.*) (7)

Mark next their doctrine on the important question,

THE REGENERATION OF MAN.

"*The true parents are they, who, BY THE SEED OF THE WORD, beget us into the light and life eternal.*"—(*Sed. on Rom. c. 1.*) "The grace of God, abounding toward us through Christ, and his spiritual laver reigning in us *through faith*, we begin to live unto God, being dead unto sin, which is the devil."—(*Id. on Rom. c. 6.*) Again, on the words, "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death," he says; "Observe carefully the order and sequence of these words; for the Apostle having compared the death which was, by Adam, to the life which is by Christ, here answers an objection, and says, 'How shall we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein:

k *Sedul. on Romans, c. ix.*

l *Claud. Scot. on Matthew, quoted by Usher.*

m I cannot find this in my copy of *Sedulius*; but I give it as quoted by *Usher*: doubtless it was in his copy.

teaching us hereby, *that if any one has FIRST died to sin, HE has necessarily been buried together with Christ. But, if one FIRST (ante, i. e. before baptism,) dies not to sin, he cannot be buried with Christ; for no one is ever buried while yet living.* But if he be not buried with Christ, *neither is he legitimately baptized.* And mark, moreover, the consequence which follows from this mystical order, which is this,—*die thou FIRST to sin, that thou mayest be able to be buried with Christ:* seeing it is to the dead only we give sepulture. For if thou still livest to sin, thou canst not be buried together with Christ, nor be placed with him in his new sepulchre, because thy old man liveth, and cannot walk in newness in Christ.”—(*Id. on Rom. c. 6.*)

Then, a little after, the commentator gives the following description of this “newness:” “Now, newness of life is when we have put off the old man with his seeds, and have put on the new man, which is created after God, and is renewed in knowledge, after the image of Him that created him.—(*Eph. iv. 22; Col. iii. 10.*) “And like as the old always grows older, and is even, from day to day, becoming more infirm and aged, so also this new man is ever being made new, and the newness itself, if one may say so, is daily to be made new; so that there be never a time when this new-making is *not receiving additional newness.* Baptism, then, is the pledge and image of our resurrection.” That is, of our spiritual resurrection,—as he adds, a few lines after, *on verse 5*: “Now, resurrection is twofold,—one, by which we rise again with Christ from things earthly, in mind, and purpose, and faith; the other, the general resurrection of all in the flesh.”—(*Sedul. on Rom. c. 6.*) Again, we have the same doctrine on *1 Cor. 15*, where he explains the phrase “*Baptized for the dead.*” He says, “*That is, baptized as those that have ALREADY died together with Christ, * * * died to the world,*” already before their baptism. (7)

It is plain, then, I think,—as plain as words can make it,—that according to this teaching, (*) baptism was regarded in the Irish Church, (like the circumcision of Abraham,) as the sign, and seal, and pledge of the things which had been already accomplished in the heart through faith; or, in the words of our Church, “*of a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness.*” Our dear Isle had not yet been tainted with a breath of that even then spreading plague, *the opus operatum* of the sacraments. So again on

FAITH IN CHRIST AS THE ALONE INSTRUMENT OF JUSTIFICATION.

“Ye are saved by grace through faith, not through works—‘*through*

* I regret I have not room for the whole of Sedulius’ exposition of the sixth and ninth of Romans. Indeed, his whole commentary is of the same sound evangelical character, and I wish I had encouragement to publish an English translation of it.

faith, that is, *not through works*: and, lest any careless one should arrogate to himself salvation by his faith, the Apostle has added, 'and that not of yourselves;' because faith itself is not from ourselves, but from Him who hath called us." (*Sedulius on Eph. c. 2.*) "Ye are made nigh by the blood of Christ; that is, BY BELIEVING *that ye are saved by his blood and passion.*" (*Id. on Eph. c. 2.*) Again, "I live by the faith of the Son of God; that is, BY FAITH ALONE, (n) *as owing nothing to the law.* Grace is abject and vain if it alone is not sufficient for me." (*Id. on Gal. c. 3.*) "Ye esteem basely of Christ, if you think he is not sufficient for your salvation." (o) "God hath so ordered it, that he will be propitious to mankind, if THEY BELIEVE *that they shall be saved by the blood of his Son.*" (*Id. on Rom. c. 3.*) "Christ is the end of the law to every one that believeth; that is to say, *he has the perfection of the law who believes in Christ.* For, whereas no one might be justified by the law, because no one fulfilled the law, except he who trusted in Christ; faith hath been appointed that it *should be accounted to us* for the perfection of the law; so that in all things left undone, FAITH MIGHT SATISFY FOR THE WHOLE LAW." (*Id. on Rom. c. 10.*) "As the soul is the life of the body, so *faith is the life of the soul.*" (*Id. on Heb. c. 10.*) "It was meet, that as Abraham was justified BY FAITH ONLY, so also the rest following his faith, should be saved in the same way." (*Id. on Rom. c. 1.*) (8) The truth is, it is no matter where we look into this noble divine, we find the same great evangelical truths every where meeting us, just as we do in the Scriptures. And the same was the teaching even in the ninth age.

Claudius says—"By believing in the Son of God, we are made the sons of God by adoption." (*Lib. 1. on Math.*) "Nothing taketh away sins but THE GRACE OF FAITH, *which worketh by love.*" (*Id. on Gal. Pref.*) "God forbid that I should glory,' that is, in my own righteousness or doctrine, *but in the faith of the cross, through which all my sins are forgiven me,*" (*Id. on Gal. c. 6.*) "Without the merit of works." (*Id. on Gal. c. 1.*) (p) "If FAITH ALONE (q) doth not save the Gentiles, neither doth it save us; *since no one shall be justified by the works of the law.*" (*Id. on Gal. c. 2.*)

I need not go on: these are the very doctrines of our Church in her leading Articles; and the reader will see, from these few specimens, that the language of the Irish divines is, if anything, the more decisive and definite of the two.

n Sola fide.

o Not in my copy, but in Usher.

p Absque operum merito.

q Sola fides.

I need only add under this head,
FIRST, the following, to show what the Irish Church meant by

A TRUE JUSTIFYING FAITH.

Thus, on the words (*Rom. i. 4.*) "To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness," Sedulius says—"The ungodly man converting, God justifies him *through faith alone*, *not by good works*. The Apostle means this: that the ungodly man (*impium*) believing in Christ, *his faith is IMPUTED to him for righteousness*, as to Abraham also. God purposed to forgive our sins *freely, through faith alone*." Then he adds, "*This faith, when it hath been justified, (r) sticketh in the soil of the soul, like a root after having received the shower; so that when it hath begun to be cultured by the law of God, those boughs spring up upon it which bear the fruit of works. Therefore, the root of righteousness grows not from works, but the fruit of works grows from the root of righteousness; namely, THAT ROOT OF RIGHTEOUSNESS WHICH GOD BOTH RECKON TO OUR ACCOUNT FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS WITHOUT WORKS.*" (9)

Oh blessed and holy, peace-giving doctrine! Here are all but the identical words of our glorious eleventh and twelfth articles together,—those pillars, as they may well be called, of a standing or fallen Church. The coincidence, not only of the doctrine, but of the very language, is strikingly remarkable: and what an expressive name for a true justifying faith! "THE ROOT OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, THAT ROOT *which* GOD RECKONS TO OUR ACCOUNT FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS WITHOUT WORKS.

On this point the following will suffice from Claudius: "Not that the works of the law are to be contemned, or that without them a *simple* faith is to be desired, but that the works themselves should be adorned with faith in Christ. For true is that sentence of the wise man, '*It (s) is not that the faithful man lives by his righteousness, but the justified man lives by his faith,*'" (*Claud. on Gal. c. 3.*) This is the very caution, which a faithful, evangelical teacher at this day would use, to guard his doctrine, of faith alone, (just as our twelfth article does,) against abuse or misapprehension.

SECONDLY, the following to shew

**THE UTTER DENIAL IN THE IRISH CHURCH OF ALL CREATURE-MERIT,
 EVEN IN THE GREATEST SAINTS.**

"There is not one of the elect so great, whom the Devil doth not dare to accuse, except him alone, who did no sin, and who could say,—'The

r Justified, i. e. proved to be a true, lively faith.

s Non fidelem vivere ex iustitia, sed iustum ex fide.

Prince of this world cometh and findeth nothing in me.”—(*Sedul. on Rom. c. 8.*) “The law cannot be fulfilled.”—(*Id. on c. 7.*) “There is none that doeth good, that is to say, *perfect and entire good.*”—(*Id. on c. 3.*) “God hath chosen us to be holy and immaculate in the life to come: although the justified (*justi*) may be not improperly said to be holy and immaculate in the present life, *though not in whole, yet in part.*”—(*Id. on Eph. c. 1.*) “We must know of a truth, that whatsoever men have from God is grace: *for they have nothing of due.*”—(*Id. on Rom. c. 16.*) “There is no man that sinneth not.”—*Id. on Eph. c. 2.*) Again on the words “Yet am I not hereby justified,” (1 *Cor. iv. 4.*) “That is, because of those light and lesser sins *from which no saint, in the present life, can be free.*” And on the seventh verse, “Who maketh thee to differ,” he adds, “That is, who separateth thee from the *mass* (lump) of perdition? who but God? Not thy merits: not thy knowledge: and to one answering as it were, and saying, ‘my faith maketh me to differ, my merits, my purpose,’ the Apostle instantly rejoins: What hast thou which thou hast not received? **WHAT HAST THOU FROM THYSELF BUT SIN?**”—(*Id. on 1 Cor. c. 4.*) And, to give but one more, on the words, (Heb. 6,) “It is impossible, * * * if they fall away, to renew them again unto repentance.” He says, “Is repentance excluded then? God forbid. It is impossible to renew them by baptism, or carnal victims, (or by any thing) *but only by the faith of Christ, which worketh by love.*” (*Id. on Heb. 6.*) (10)

And says Claudius, (when a contrary doctrine was already come in, as is evident from his words,—come in elsewhere, if not in Ireland,) “It is manifest to all the wise, *though it be contradicted* by HERETICS, that there is no one, who can live upon earth without the touch of some sin.” (*Claud. Lib. 2, on Mat. Usher. Cit.*) “Then (only) shall the just be altogether without sin, when there shall be no law in the members warring against the law of the mind.” (*Id. on Gal. c. 5.*) “Sin does not now reign in their mortal body, to obey it in the lusts thereof, although it *does dwell* in that mortal body, the power of that natural habitude not being yet extinct, with which we have been mortally born; whilst, moreover, we have, by the acts of our own life, increased, by sinning also ourselves, that condemnation which we derive from the origin of human sin.” (*Id. ibid.*)

To all which we shall only subjoin, that about midway between these two noble evangelical commentators,—that is to say, A. D. 639, the idea of creature-merit was still denounced as impious and blasphemous by the Church of Rome herself. In a letter written that year, and subscribed by the Roman Clergy, during the vacancy of the see, we have these words, “It is blasphemy and folly to say, *that there is a man without sin*, which no one at all can be, but the one Mediator between

God and man, the man Christ Jesus; for *all other men* (t) being born with original sin, even though they should be free from actual sin, are known to bear about with them the testimony of Adam's prevarication." (u) (11)

But, what says that Church now? She not only anathematizes *this* and all the preceding doctrines; but she also elevates the works and merits of man into the very opposite position. For instance, the following statement: "The grace of our Jesus Christ, which is the efficacious principle of every kind of good, is necessary to every good work; without this, not only does nothing good exist, but nothing good can exist:" *this statement the Church of Rome selects for condemnation in the "Bull Unigenitus;"* and say the Rhemish annotators, "Good works are meritorious, and the very cause of salvation, so far that God should be unjust, if HE RENDERED NOT HEAVEN FOR THE SAME." (*Rhemish Testament, on Heb. c. 6.*)

Thus it was, then, that the early Irish divines inculcated and enforced *that doctrine of justification by faith only*, which our Church calls "The strong rock and foundation of the Christian religion;" and which Hooker designates "That grand question that hangeth between us and the Church of Rome;" and, compared with which, he calls Rome's doctrine and invented remedies, "a Dagon,—Babylon,—the maze and mystery of the man of sin."

The reader has now before him—in as concise a form as we could well compass and arrange the matter, consistently with perspicuity—a specimen of the copious evidence, which might be accumulated on this subject; and I think he will thus far have perused our proofs with no ordinary interest or pleasure. The preceding extracts are fairly given, and literally translated, and they are in the very words of the writers; so that every reader may examine the proofs for himself, and form his own independent judgment; and I have no hesitation in saying, I anticipate that that judgment will be a clear verdict in favour of our first position. I think, if the reader will pause here, and glance again over the preceding quotations, beginning with those from St. Patrick, and compare them with *all our positive Articles*, one after another, he will come to the deliberate and delightful conclusion, that there is in them clear and indubitable evidence of a *perfect and literal* identity between the Christianity of our present establishment, and that of the early national Church of Ireland, during her most lively and active periods.

t Cæteri homines.

u Usher's Sylloge, No. 9.

We proceed now to the negative and Protestant Articles; our object being to shew a *virtual* and *substantial* identity in those Articles between our Church and the early Irish establishment.

THIRD CHAPTER.

NEGATIVE INFERENCES FROM THE PRECEDING PROOFS; NO INVOCATION OF SAINTS; NO PURGATORY; NO INDULGENCIES, ETC., IN THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH.

Now, it is important to bear in mind here the nature of the historical argument with regard to religious corruptions and errors. It is not to be thought that a Church, or a body of ministers, can formally protest against false doctrines before they are broached, or before an attempt is made to impose the reception of them. Romanism, in all its leading and essential features, as we have already observed, is comparatively modern. Romanism is Christianity corrupted; and it is of the very nature of corruption, and especially of religious corruption, that it is imperceptible and gradual in its growth. It is only, when men *sleep*, that the tares are sown in the same field with the wheat: the mystery of iniquity *secretly* (*) worketh: error comes in *stealthily*. So it was with the first growth of heathenism; heathenism is but the first religion of man *corrupted*; and so it has been with Romanism. No man, or body of men, ever sat down deliberately to devise either heathenism or Romanism: both are the natural offspring of the corrupt heart of man; and both would still grow up *any where*, in the lapse of time, under similar circumstances. Hence it is, that, as religious corruptions are imperceptible in their rise, and gradual in their growth, so the only argument which *history* affords us, in such a case, is what is called the *negative* argument: that is to say, it is *enough*, if we can shew that there is no trace of the error or corruption in the history of that age: it is *more*, if we can shew, that the holding and teaching of the same would be incompatible with other well-known doctrines and opinions of the age; and *more still*, if it would have contradicted and stultified *their main foundation-principles and practices*.

(1) Now keeping this observation in mind, the reader will see, in the first place, *what a mass of Romanism falls prostrate at once, under the proofs already given*. The very essence and spirit of the present Church

* So the word signifies in the original.

of Rome are her traditions and the teaching of the Church; her justification by works; her self-devised atonements and remedies for sin; her sacramental penances and absolutions; her merits and supererogations; her intercessions of saints; her indulgences; her Purgatory; and all the other "Maze and mystery" of her every-day, external religion. These constitute the very soul and substance of modern Romanism. These, the Council of Trent adopted, as their system, and rivetted, by anathema, upon the people; and, I think, it is a plain and indubitable inference from the preceding quotations, that the early Irish never once thought of such doctrines,—nay, that they would have utterly abhorred them, if propounded in their day, or offered to their acceptance as a system. To entertain, much more to teach, such doctrines, would be utterly incompatible with their main foundation Christian principles,—“Their strong rock and foundation of the Christian religion.” So that all the invented newly-adopted remedies of Rome for sin, disappear at once from the face of the early Irish Church, by the authentic, *proven* fact, that their doctrine of the justification of the sinner, whether in baptism, or when he had fallen into sin after baptism, was only by faith in Christ,—that faith, namely, “which worketh by love, purifieth the heart, and overcometh the world.” And this incompatibility, we can prove from the records of the Council of Trent itself. Father Paul, the Romish historian of that council, has recorded, that,—

“When the fathers of that council met, they were, at first, greatly puzzled how to proceed against the doctrines of the Reformation; but that, at length, they declared, *that, as THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE, preached by Luther, had taken away the PUNISHMENTS as well as the guilt of sin, and, consequently, left no place remaining, no necessity, for SATISFACTIONS, SACRAMENTS, MASSES, INDULGENCES, PURGATORY, PRIESTS, and ALL THE OTHER REMEDIES instituted for the remission of sins: so it was necessary that they themselves should take a directly opposite course; and by condemning this doctrine of Luther, and establishing the contrary doctrine, RESTORE THE WHOLE BODY OF CATHOLIC THEOLOGY.*” (*) Hence, all the anathemas of those fathers against the doctrine of justification *only by faith in Christ*. They plainly saw its utter incompatibility with their entire system of “REMEDIES,—WITH THE WHOLE BODY OF THEIR THEOLOGY;” and they keenly felt that *the one* could exist only by the destruction of *the other*. And, so obviously it would have been in the early Irish Church, had “*such atonements and remedies*” been yet devised or received there. The two systems could not have existed together; so that our proof of the

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Tom 1, L. 2, §. 73.

existence there of the sound, scriptural, evangelical, Church-of-England system, is, itself, proof enough, had we no more, of the non-existence of the other:—or in other words, OF THE ABSENCE OF THE WHOLE BODY OF POPISH THEOLOGY.

(2) But we have, vastly, more than mere *inferential* evidence for the absence of this theology; some of which I shall, now, in the second place, set before the reader.

EVIDENCE AGAINST INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

The reader needs not to be reminded, that this pernicious error is founded on the supposed merits, supererogatory, or otherwise, of the departed saints; and, hence, the mildest form of the practice in the Roman Mass-book is that of prayers and supplications, addressed, *not* to the pious dead, but to God, imploring His mercy *through the merits* of the Virgin and the Saints. And, indeed, it was in *this* the error began. But what say the Irish commentators? They deny the very foundation of this error: they taught, as we have seen, the very contrary: they inculcated, as our Articles do, that fundamental, scriptural truth, that there is none *meritorious* but Christ alone, and that he is the only Son of Adam that ever did live, or could live, without the taint of sin. They could not, then, it is plain, use, consistently with their principles, even the mildest form of this error. They could not supplicate God *by the merits* of the saints, much less supplicate the departed saints themselves. And, hence it is, that we find no traces of this fatal superstition in any *authentic* (*v*) records of the early Irish Church,—no *litanies*; no *rosaries*; no *Ave Marias*; no *Oro-pro-nobises*; no direct invocation to any creature. The records, down from Patrick, abound with prayers and ejaculations, and supplicatory addresses; and yet there occurs not in them a single instance of prayer addressed to any being but to the Triune God alone. Nay, there occurs the reverse. Sedulius, on the first chapter of Romans, lays down the following *universal* definition:—“But let us say, briefly, AND IN ONE ALL-COMPREHENSIVE DEFINITION, (*w*) THAT TO ADORE ANY OTHER BUT THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY GHOST, IS THE CRIME OF IMPIETY.” And, on chapter second, on the words, “Dost thou commit adultery?” he says, “Now there is more than one sort of adulterous soul: *for, as to the whole of that which the soul owes to God, if it render THAT to any but God, it commits adultery*,”—that is, it is idolatrous. (12) And,—to add but one more,—in an ancient Canon of the Irish Church, we read,

v I say authentic; because, of course, we have nothing to do, in this argument, with the legends and fables of the Romancers and saint-makers of a late age.—See Appendix.

w Omni in unum collecta definitione.

"No creature is to be adjured (sworn by), but only the Creator; for every thing which man loves, by the same also is to be an oath." (*) This prohibition, it is plain, is as conclusive against *invoking* the creature, as it is against *swearing* by the creature. For, if to *swear by* the creature is a violating of the love which the soul owes to God, how much more, to *invoke* the creature, or flee to the creature's aid in prayer?

THE EVIDENCE AGAINST PURGATORY IS EQUALLY STRONG.

We have already seen that that monster figment, St. Patrick's Purgatory, was never heard of till after the twelfth century. And, in the works of St. Patrick himself, we have a Treatise, the very Title of which would, of itself, be sufficient,—had he said no more,—to shew that he knew of no such doctrine as that of Purgatory. That title is, "OF THE THREE HABITATIONS WHICH ARE UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF ALMIGHTY GOD." The very title, you see, is exclusive of any *fourth* habitation. But the work itself is still more exclusive, even of the thought of such a place.

The following is the first chapter of this Treatise.

"There are three habitations under the government of the Almighty God: the upper; the lowermost; and the middle. Of these the uppermost is called the Kingdom of God or Heaven; the lowermost is termed Hell; the middle is named this present world or this Earth. The two extremes are altogether contrary, the one to the other, and have nothing whatever in common with each other. (x) For what fellowship can there be between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial? But the middle hath some similitude with the extremes. Whence it is that it hath light and darkness, cold and heat, pain and no pain, joy and sorrow, hatred and love, the good and the bad, the just and the unjust, death and life, and innumerable other such like things; of which, the one part have an image of the kingdom of God, the other of Hell. For, in this world, there is a mixture of good men and bad men together; whereas, in the kingdom of God, there are none bad, all are good. But, in hell, all are bad, none are good. And, both of these places, (heaven and hell,) are being filled up out of the

* Non adjurandum esse creaturam aliam, nisi creatorem. Omni enim quod amat homo, hoc et juratur. Canon 23, of a synod ascribed to Patrick; but of a much later period; yet of a period before the invocation of saints was heard of in Ireland.

x This passage alone, like the Title, negatives a Purgatory. For, if Purgatory be a department in Hell or in Heaven, then the two extremes have a great deal in common with each other. But, says Patrick, "Quorum extrema omnino sunt contraria et nulla sibi societate conjuncta;" "they are altogether contraries, and have nothing whatever, in common, with each other."

middle; for, of the men of this world, some are lifted up to heaven, others are dragged down to hell. Namely, like are joined to like,—that is to say, good to good, and bad to bad, just men to just angels, and wicked men to wicked angels, the servants of God to God, the servants of the Devil to the Devil. The blessed are called to the kingdom prepared for them from the beginning of the world; the cursed are driven away into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels." (y)

I need not quote further from this work: so it is that the description runs in the same beautiful style, from the beginning to the end of the Treatise, and without the slightest allusion to a Purgatory or any thing like a Purgatory. It is plain, St. Patrick had never heard of such a place, or, if he had, that he had rejected it with abhorrence and contempt. But no; he was too early for that awful, gospel-subverting invention.

And so was Columbanus, (in the seventh century,) who says, "Live now, putting your trust in God, and following the precepts of Christ, while life still remains, and the time of salvation is certain." (z) And, says Claudius, "While we are in this present world, we are able to help one another, whether by our prayers or by our counsels; but having come before the Tribunal of Christ, (i. e. having once left this world,) neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah can entreat for us; but every one must bear his own burden." (*Claud. on Gal. c. 5.*) And, to add but one more testimony, it is affirmed in an ancient Canon of the Irish Church, "That the soul being separated from the body is presented before the Tribunal of Christ, who rendereth to it its own, according as it hath done; and neither can the arch-angel lead it into life, until the Lord hath judged it; nor the Devil transport it into pain, unless the Lord hath condemned it." (a) (13)

Plain it is, then, again,—plain to all but those who prefer late and lying legends to simple truth,—that the Irish Church, for ages after St. Patrick, knew of no Purgatory,—of none but ONE; that, namely, which all true Christians know, the *alone fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness; the blood of Jesus Christ, God's Son, which PURGETH (b) from ALL sin.*" This is the only Purgatory known unto man; and it is all-sufficient. "*From ALL sin,*" mark! Can any language be more uni-

y Dr. Lanigan's quibble to elude the force of the evidence from this book of "The Three Habitations" is unworthy of him. He says, "The author (of this book) says that the just are raised to Heaven, but does not state that they are so *immediately* on their exit from this life. * * * Concerning this point, it affords no argument on either side." (*Lanigan, vol 3, p. 322.*) Does not this betray a weak cause?

z *Epistle to Hunaldus, in Gallandius.*

a Cited by Usher from a collection of Irish Canons, in the Cottonian Library.

b So the word is in the original.

versal than this? or what sin is there that is not included in "ALL sin?" or when "ALL sin" is *purged* by the application of that blood,—for, if it purges from any, it assuredly purges from all,—what sin remains to be yet again purged in the so-called Purgatory? Oh! is it not a Satanic invention, subverting the gospel, and making void the Cross of Jesus?

And no less decisive is the evidence against

**AURICULAR AND FORCED CONFESSION; SACRAMENTAL PENANCES
AND ABSOLUTIONS; CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY, ETC.**

That the Irish Church acknowledged no such doctrines, in the Romish sense, we know, on unquestionable authority. Thus, Alcuin, an English writer of the ninth century, says, "The Scots are said to lead a most chaste life, amid their worldly occupations, by rational consideration. But it is said, *that none of their laity will make Confession to Priests*: whom we believe to have received, from Christ our God, the power of binding and loosing, together with the holy Apostles." And, says Bernard, in the twelfth century, in his "Life of Malachie," "*The most wholesome use of Confession, the Sacrament of Confirmation, and the Contract of Marriage, all which they (the Irish) before were either ignorant of, or did neglect, Malachie, did institute afresh.*" (14) But, we shall see more of these points, under our closing head. Again, as to

THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

"Concerning single life," (says Usher,) "I do not find in any of our records, that it was generally imposed upon the clergy, but rather the contrary." We have already seen that St. Patrick himself was the son of a deacon, and the grandson of a priest, both clergymen of the ancient British Church,—where the marriage of the clergy continued till after the twelfth century; and that St. Patrick allowed the same scriptural discipline in Ireland, we know, from a Canon of an ancient Irish synod. This Canon says, "If the wife of any clergyman, from the door-keeper to the priest, be seen to walk abroad with her head uncovered, let her be contemned by the laity." (*). To all which I need only add, that Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, who died A. D. 1129, *was a married man*; and that we have letters of Pope Innocent III, even in the thirteenth century, addressed to his Cardinal Legate in Ireland, urging him "To abolish the custom, whereby sons and grandsons were wont to succeed their fathers and grandfathers in their Church preferments and benefices." (c) But

* Sixth Canon of a Synod ascribed to St. Patrick.—*S. Patric. Opera*, p. 2.

c See Appendix 15.

I rapidly pass over these particulars, that I may come to matters of more weight and consequence.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

DECISIVE EVIDENCE AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION, ADORATION OF THE HOST, PROPITIATORY MASS, HALF-COMMUNION, AND OTHER CORRUPTIONS, ARISING FROM, AND CONNECTED WITH, THAT MONSTROUS AND AWFUL DOGMA.

The controversial writers of the Church of Rome, in arguing upon the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Mass, affect to be quite satisfied, that they have proved their point, if they can find the Sacramental symbols any where called "The body and blood of Christ," or the Lord's Supper, "An offering;" or, if they can shew, that Christ is any where said to be present in the sacramental celebration. But no men are better aware than learned Romanists are, that the question here is not, Did the ancient Irish believe in a *spiritual* presence of Christ in the sacramental action, or, in a *spiritual* communication of Christ to the worthy receiver; but did they believe the consecrated bread to be, literally and corporeally, their God and Saviour. Neither is it the question, whether or not, they called the elements the body and blood of Christ; for all antiquity called the consecrated elements so, as our Lord himself did, in his last supper; but, the question is, what did they mean by that language. The words, "the body and blood of Christ," in themselves *decide* nothing; they may, in themselves, be figurative or literal; so that, the point to be ascertained from history, is, in which of the two senses, the figurative or the literal, did the ancient Irish call the consecrated elements the body and blood of Christ. And, on this point, we have abundant proofs, *that it was in the figurative sense only*. Remember, our reformers called the consecrated bread and wine the body and blood of Christ: Calvin called them so; our Church calls them so; we ourselves call them so; and, yet these all, as we ourselves do, abhorred the very thought of their being Christ's *LITERAL flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin, and nailed to the cross*. And so, we maintain, would the early Irish have equally abhorred the thought, had the monstrous dogma been propounded to them; and the only difference in this respect, between their case and ours, is, that *we* have lived to hear of the stupendous absurdity, *they*

never thought of it: the notion never once occurred to them, THAT BREAD AND WINE WAS THEIR GOD AND SAVIOUR.

Now for a few proofs of this. And, *first*, let it be observed that the Irish Church, like all the *then* Church elsewhere, called *every thing* presented to God, or laid as an *offering* upon God's table,—no matter what the thing was,—called it an *offering*, *oblation*, *sacrifice*. Thus, says St. Patrick, "*He who offers a SACRIFICE OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE POOR, is as one that makes a victim of a son in the sight of the Father.*" So they called the bread and wine also in the Lord's Supper. Thus Sedulius expounding Heb. vi., 1, says, "Gifts and sacrifices,] that is, all sorts of oblations: or 'Gifts,' that is, gold, silver, and the like: sacrifices; that is, only the things which pertain to OUR FOOD, for instance, OF BREAD AND WINE." (d) Is this Romanism? Again, on verse 6, he says, "After the order of Melchisedech.] Because Melchisedech presented bread and wine TO ABRAHAM for a figure of CHRIST, offering his body and blood to God the Father ON THE CROSS." Another plain contradiction to the scheme of Romanism, which makes the offering of Melchisedech a figure, not of the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, but of the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, i. e. of the Mass. And for this interpretation Rome contends as for the life; for, by Sedulius' view, a *priesthood* is subverted. (e)

But this is not all. Again, on Hebrew x., 3, this same commentator says, "A remembrance is made of sin, whilst every day, and year after year, a victim (*hostia*, a host,) was offered for sins. But we offer daily FOR A REMEMBRANCE of our Lord's passion ONCE PERFORMED, and of our own salvation." (15) We offer what? what he has said above, namely, "The sacrifice OF BREAD AND WINE." But, neither is this all. On Colossians, c. ii. he lays down, as a universal definition, "That there is no need of an image, where the truth is present;" (*) and on 1 Cor. c. ii., he gives us the following decisive, and almost more than *protestant*, exposition of the words of institution, "Do this in remembrance of me.] He left us his remembrance, just as one setting out for a far-away country, leaves behind him some pledge to him whom he loves, that, as often as he (the loved one) beholds it, he may be able to call to mind his benefits and friendships; because, if he perfectly loves him (his absent friend), he cannot behold that (token) without great desire and weeping." Again, on verse 29, he adds, "Not discerning the Lord's

d *Sacrificia*] Quæ ad cibum tantum pertinent de pane, verbi gratia, et vino.—Sedul. on Heb. c. 6.

e See the notes on Heb. c. 7 in the Rhemish Testament.

* *Imagine non opus est, veritate presente.*—Sedul on Col. c. 2.

body,] that is, *making no difference between it and common food*," (†) as the Corinthians did, who, he says, "Came into the Church to the Sacrament, as if to an ordinary banquet." (f)

So Claudius also says, "Our Saviour's pleasure was *first* to deliver to his disciples THE SACRAMENT of his body and blood, and *afterwards* to offer up THE BODY ITSELF on the altar of the Cross. For, as bread strengthens the body, and wine works blood in the flesh; so the one is EMBLEMATICALLY referred to Christ's body, the other to his blood." (*Claud. on Matthew, c. iii.*) (16) Here is a plain distinction between the *Eucharist* and the *body*. The one is the *Sacrament* of the body, that is, the *sacred sign* or *instituted symbol* (g) of the body, the other is the *body itself*. Nay, the commentator does not leave us to mere inference, but tells us, in express words, that the one is THE EMBLEM of the other.

Let the reader ponder these few quotations, and I think he will say that no language, under the circumstances, could be more decisive of the protestant sense of the Irish Church, up to the early part of the ninth century,—except, indeed, the following from Sedulius, *the poet*:—referring to the Sacramental celebration, he says, "Who else is present there but Christ, the Institutor, after the order of Melchisedech, of our two oblations; TO WHOM are always given gifts that are his own, namely, *the fruit of the corn, and the joys of the vine*." And, again, on the same subject in prose, he calls the elements "The sweet meat of wheaten seed, and the lovely drink of the pleasant vine." (h) (17)

Two cases more deserve to be mentioned, before we dismiss this head. The *first* is, that of the author of the book called "The Wonders of Scripture," written by authority, in the year, 657. Were an Irish Romanist, of the present day, asked to think and state what he thought, the greatest wonder recorded in the Bible, he would answer, at once, "The body and blood of Christ, sir." Yet, the author of this book passes over, in utter silence, this wonder of wonders; and that too, though he professes to give an account of *all* the wonders of the divine, canonical scriptures, and "To pass by nothing that seemed to be beyond the ordinary every-day administration in other things." (i) And why, after all, pass by, in silence, this stupendous wonder,—so wonderful, that, if true, every thing else, loses its wonder? Why else but that to him and

† Id est, non discernens ipsum a cibo communi.

f Facientes ecclesiam pulvinar epularum.

g St. Augustin defines a sacrament to be signum sacræ rei—The sign of a sacred thing.

h Cælius Sedulius, Carmen Paschal, Lib. 4.

i Lib. 2, of the Wonders of Scripture, printed among the works of St. Augustin, Tom 3.

to the Irish Church in that age, it was no wonder whatever? *nothing BEYOND THE ORDINARY EVERY-DAY PERFORMANCE IN OTHER THINGS.*" (18)

The second case is that of Johannes Scotus Erigena, (*k*) in the ninth century. The year 831 has become signalized, in Church history, for the first rude conception, in the human mind, of the enormity which, about four hundred years after, assumed the barbarous name of *transubstantiation*. In that year appeared the Book of Paschasius Radbert, a French monk, in which, for the first time, it was propounded to the world, that the body of Christ, in the Sacrament, was the very same that had been born of the Virgin, and had been nailed to the Cross; and the result of its apperance was, that it astounded the whole western Church, and provoked the vehement opposition of the greatest divines of the age. They declared that the notion was *perfectly new*, and that they had never read nor heard it before. Now, before I mention the case of Erigena, let me prove this important fact: and the following quotation from the learned Benedictine monk, Father Mabillon, who is endeavouring to account, consistently with Romanism, for the opposition made to Paschasius' new doctrine, will put the matter clear before the reader. Father Mabillon's solution of the difficulty is this:—he says, "At the time of Paschasius, *no one had been heard to assert so DIRECTLY*, that the body of Christ, in the Eucharist, was the same that was born of the Virgin. It is true, not a few of the fathers had before taught as much; but these testimonies of the fathers *were either unknown in that age*, or, at least, *were not taken notice of*. Paschasius, therefore, having taught this doctrine *so confidently and positively* in his book, certain eminent and learned men were so *roused by the novelty* of the matter, as it appeared to them, that they opposed his opinion with all their might." (*l*)

Here, then, all we want is fully admitted: that the doctrine appeared new is admitted; the opposition it met with is admitted; and the pretence alleged for *both* is manifestly false and paltry. If it had been always a doctrine of the Church, is it likely that the greatest men of the age would have been ignorant of it? or, if it had been, from the beginning, an article of the faith, how else was "Paschasius to teach it, but *directly and confidently*? Is not the pretence, then, a paltry one? Yet it is the best quibble Rome can offer for the difficulty.

Now, among those who opposed the new doctrine was our John Scot Erigena, the founder of the University of Paris; and, what is more to

k See p. 31.

l Dupin, century 9, c. 7, from Mabillon.

our point, Erigena wrote against it, as the chosen champion of the Church; as did also Bertram, another distinguished divine: both having been called upon to do so by the reigning monarch, Charles the Bald, the great patron of the Church in that age. The book of Bertram is still extant, and has now a distinguished place with the Bible in the Expurgatory Index of the Church of Rome. That of Scotus had a different, though not less honourable fate. More than two hundred years after, the new dogma of Paschasius having, in the mean while, made somewhat more way in the world, when the book of Scotus was appealed to by the persecuted Berengarius, as proving his own views of the Sacrament, to have been the doctrine of the Church in the ninth century, that book had the glory of being committed to the flames, by order of Pope Leo. IX., A. D. 1050. But its Title has been preserved in the records of the age, and remains to this day, to testify to the orthodoxy of the Irish Church on this head, as well as of the Church universal, to near the beginning of the tenth century. That Title was, "THE SACRAMENTS OF THE ALTAR ARE NOT THE REAL BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST, BUT ONLY THE COMMEMORATION OF HIS BODY AND BLOOD. (*)

Thus it is, then, that our Church stands clear, for so long a period, of any taint from what is now the prime idol of the Church of Rome, and what has been justly designated the great burning Article of the Papacy.

Now, after all this, it is scarcely necessary to say, that, as to processions and adorations of the Host, half-communion, or any other of "the many superstitions," to which that monster-parent, the wafer-god, has given prolific birth, there is not the faintest trace of them, in the history of the Irish Church, for more than the first ten centuries of the Christian era. I challenge a single instance, from any authentic document written within this space. And, as to one of those corruptions in particular, namely, the removal of the cup,—by which Rome not merely *mutilates*, but *nulls* "The Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death," and substitutes one of her own devising in its place—let it suffice to add, that we have, in Irish Church history, innumerable instances noted of men and women receiving the Sacrament under both elements, (m) and that, without a single instance to the contrary. (n) The Irish Church

* Dupin, *century 9*, c. 7, pp. 69—88. Extracts also from the book of Scotus are preserved, as for instance, "The things that take place at the altar, are done in shew, not in reality." *Specie geruntur ista, non veritate*. Scotus died in Ireland, A. D. 874.

m For a multitude of such instances, see *Usher's Religion of the Ancient British and Irish*, c. 4.

n See Appendix 20.

had not so learned Christ, and, as we have seen, (o) such was not her *RULE of Faith*. (19)

FIFTH CHAPTER.

THE CHURCH; THE SO-CALLED INFALLIBILITY: PAPAL SUPREMACY: THE LONG INDEPENDENCE AND LITERAL PROTESTANTISM OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

We are now come to what lies at the very root of Romanism, the Church and her (*so-called*) infallibility, and the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. The reader will bear in mind the importance attached to these doctrines, or rather, to that one of them which sums up and gathers into itself the other two, namely, the assumed position of the Pope. This may be strictly called the very corner stone of the Papacy, and very "head and front" of Rome's "offending;" and so essential is it to the very existence of her system, that she would relax any where else rather than here. Thus, according to her theory, the Church of Rome is not only the *mother*, but **THE MISTRESS** also, of all other Churches; and the Bishop of Rome is not merely the *primate*, but **THE LORD**, of all Christendom; and all this, by the absolute and inherent right of divine appointment: not, mark! in the way of dignity and order merely, or as a *primus inter equales*, a first among equals, like our own primate, for instance; or, as a thing conceded to him by man, for purposes of expediency and ecclesiastical utility; but in the way of divine authority and power. In short, he is the alone divinely appointed Head and Supreme Monarch of the whole visible Church, and, properly speaking, the one and only Bishop in the world; all others being only his delegates or vicars, deriving their credentials from, and exercising their functions by, his commission, responsible to his chair for their conduct, and subject, at any time, to his controul or removal. This is the most moderate view of the doctrine of the papal supremacy; and, of such *practical* consequence, is all this, in Roman theology, so fundamental is it, and so essentially bearing on man's salvation, that it is embodied into the very definition of the Church of Christ: so that no one can be a member of that Church who does not receive this doctrine, or is not in communion with, and subject to, the Bishop of Rome. He is

o Chapter 1 of this part.

without the pale of salvation, and cannot even hope for any; and, that too, even though he should not err in any other point of faith. This is the universal practical rule, laid down in the Maynooth Class-Book. (*p*)

Now, the question is, Was this the doctrine of the early Irish Church? The question is not, did any of the early Irish Christians ever speak respectfully of Rome or of the Bishop of Rome; for all that are now Christians, if they lived within the first few centuries of Christ, would have spoken respectfully of, and even deferred much to, the then sound doctrine and practice of Rome. But the question is, was this doctrine,—the now all in all of Romanism, held, or taught, or received in Ireland. This is the alone question. And, to this question, all ancient Irish history, for more than one thousand years, answers *with a positive and decided negative*. *First*, Not only is there no trace of such doctrine among the Irish, during this whole space; but, *secondly*, there are abundant and most signal proofs of the contrary—proofs of their absolute contempt and rejection of it.

I Now, of the first of these propositions, we have already had abundant evidence. (1) We have seen St. Patrick doing every thing ecclesiastically,—electing Bishops and Archbishops; erecting Armagh into a metropolitan see; founding Churches and monasteries, and settling the discipline and government of the whole insular Church; and all this, without any correspondence with, any reference to, or even any mention of, the Bishop of Rome. (2) The same is true of every succeeding Archbishop of Armagh, down to the twelfth century. Our Archbishops never, in a single instance, directly or indirectly, were either elected, or confirmed, or consecrated, by the Bishop of Rome; nor did they ever keep up any correspondence with him, or receive any *orders* from him,—any Bulls, any Palls, any Provisions, any Legates, during that long space. And, all this is so obvious, on the very face of Irish Church history, that learned Irish Romanists themselves are obliged to confess it. Thus, says Dr. O'Conner, "Our episcopal clergy never applied to that see for Bulls of Ratification, Provisions, or Exemption." And, says Dr. Lanigan, speaking of the twelfth century, "The see of Armagh had not, at any time, as yet, been honoured with the Pallium:"—and, speaking of the Legatine power, he says, "There did not appear any person vested with that Title, in Ireland, until about the end of the eleventh century. The first legate, ever placed over this country, was

p Certissima est doctrina. * * * Schismaticos etiam in fide non errarent, solo sui schismatis facto esse extra ecclesiam et viam salutis. Illis nulla est speranda salus. In English, "It is a most certain doctrine, that schismatics, even though they should hold no error of faith, are, by the fact alone of their schism, without the pale of the Church, and the way of salvation." "Nor can they have any hope of salvation."
—*The Maynooth Class-Book. De Ecclesia.* pp. 25, 16.

Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, who flourished in the close of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century:" (q) and, more than once, the Dr. laughs at those who would fain maintain the contrary from the legends and fables. Again, (3) we have seen the Irish Church repeatedly sending out whole Colonies of missionaries to heathen lands, converting pagan nations, and both planting the gospel and establishing the Church among them; and *that*, too, on the Irish model; and *all this*, without any communication with, or sanction from,—nay, even in opposition to, (as we shall see anon,) the now so-called one and alone Bishop of the whole visible Church. And, so it is, in fine, on every other point, relative to Papal supremacy. We meet with no appeals to Rome; no rescripts therefrom; no judgments; no authoritative sentences; scarcely so much as a deputation sent to Rome to see what was the practice there, during the whole period, already so often referred to. (20) So that the negative argument alone is quite decisive here also. What? are we to believe that the Irish Church held and taught this now *all-in-all* dogma of Romanism, and yet that it remained a dead letter in her creed for more than seven hundred years? Are we to suppose that it was an article of her faith, that the Church of Rome was not only the *mother*, but the *mistress* also, of all the Churches in the world; and her Bishop the only Bishop in Christendom, and the alone visible source of all episcopal power and spiritual function; and yet that there should not be a trace of such doctrine discoverable in any authentic record, domestic or foreign, for so long a period? Is this credible? Is it possible? Surely not: so that it is clear, I think, that the absence alone, of all proof on the other side, is proof enough, had we no more, of the absolute independence of the Irish Church, and of her total rejection of the dogma of the papal supremacy. But this is not all.

2. We have, as I have said, many and most signal proofs on the other side. We are not left to mere negative inference, with regard to this *first-of-all-things* in Romanism. We have *facts, positive and authentic facts*, putting beyond doubt, not the independence merely, but the *literal* protestantism also, of the early Irish Church. Some of these facts I shall now place before the reader.

(1) Thus, as early as the middle of the sixth century, arose the famous dispute, entitled "The Controversy of the three Chapters;" (r) which agitated and divided the whole visible Church into two great

q Vol. iv., p. 109, and iii., p. 467.

r So called from the subject of dispute, which was whether certain writings of three eminent Fathers,—Theodore, of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas, of Edessa;—should be condemned or not. The Emperor, Justinian, had them condemned, in a Council, at Constantinople, A. D. 553, now called the *Fifth Ecumenical*, or *General*

parties. The Church of Rome, under the influence of, and, indeed, *compelled* by, the imperial power, put herself at the head of one of the parties, and *adopted the condemnation of "The Three Chapters."* Now, here is a case; and the question is, How did the Irish Church act on this occasion? Did she think herself bound to side with the Church of Rome? Did she call to mind the dormant doctrine of the infallibility? or, that of the papal supremacy? or, that of the divine right of the successor so called of St. Peter?—all which, of course, had been so taught her from the beginning. Nay, nay: hear the testimony of no less a personage than a Roman Cardinal. Baronius, giving an account of that Controversy, says, "By the malice of the evil spirit it happened, that the Irish Church, which up to this time had been well cultured, was overcast with dense gloom; having suffered shipwreck by her not following in the wake of the bark of Peter, which sails at the head of all, pointing out the way into the harbour of salvation. * * * For all the Bishops, which were in Ireland, rose up unanimously, with most ardent zeal, in defence of the Three Chapters. And when (afterwards) they heard that the Church of Rome had adopted the condemnation of the Three Chapters, and strengthened the fifth synod by her concurrence," (Well, what then? did they change their mind? did they instantly veer about after the bark of Peter? nay, nay, responds the Cardinal; but) "*they added, also, this further impiety, that they separated themselves from the same, (i. e. they excommunicated the Church of Rome.)* And, in this state, they continued a very long time, pitying those who followed the fifth synod, as *wanderers from the straight path of the faith.* Nay, so much the more fixedly do they adhere to their error; because, whatever calamities Italy was suffering, at that time, from war and famine, or pestilence, all these misfortunes, they (the Irish) thought, befel her, because she had condemned The Three Chapters." (s)

So far Baronius. Yet, in the face of all this, says a writer of yesterday, a Dr. Rock, in a letter to Lord John Manners, "In the Irish Church, to blame even the customs of Rome, was a deed amounting to heresy, and worthy of excommunication!" But this is the way of a certain class of writers,—always the evidence of a weak cause,—they

Council; and he compelled Vigilius, Bishop of Rome, by imprisonment and exile, at length, after four different retractions, finally, to agree to the decisions of the Council, and condemn the writing of the three orthodox Fathers, as execrable and blasphemous. And so that Church has continued to do to this day; she has never retracted this infamous condemnation. The fourth general Council, that of Chalcedon, had before APPROVED of those writings.—See Mosheim, cent. 6, part 2, c. 3, and for a detailed account, see Father Dupin.

s *Baronius' Annals*, Tom. 7, an. 566.

give us an abundance of bold and reckless assertion, but no proofs; nay, in the very face of proofs.

So much, then, for the year 566; in which we have the Roman Church and all her adherents *excommunicated* by the early Irish Church, in her most pure and vigorous period;—"ALL the Bishops in Ireland" guilty of "*the horrible impiety*" (*nefas*, is the word the Cardinal uses) "*of forsaking the bark of Peter, AND EXCOMMUNICATING THE CHURCH OF ROME!*" Where was the infallibility then? Was there so much as a thought of it? No, no: that pernicious dogma had not, it is plain, been yet thought of: it is as plain as the sun at noon-day, that that worst of all inventions, and deadliest instrument of Satan,—that inlet to all delusion and error, and greatest barrier to the entrance of the truth, sealing up the eyes and ears and hearts of the deceived and ignorant, and making the soul impervious even to the plainest dictates of reason and common sense,—yes, it is more than plain, that this extinguisher of the light of Heaven, and worst plague of the human mind, had not yet darkened, so much as by a passing touch, the threshold of the Irish Church:—if, indeed, it had yet risen in the Church of Rome herself; of which there is not a shadow of proof, but rather the contrary. (†)

But, let us pass on to the seventh century, and hear the Irish Church speak for herself in this matter.

SIXTH CHAPTER.



THE SAME SUBJECTS: TESTIMONY OF COLUMBANUS.

Now, the work from which I am about to give some copious extracts, is an Epistle of Columbanus, addressed to Pope Boniface IV., A. D. 613,—that is, nearly half a century, subsequent to the excommunication just mentioned, and nine years, (the reader will note it,) after the Title of universal Bishop had been conferred by imperial decree on the Pope of Rome:—a Title, which, (when assumed some six or eight years before, by the Bishop of Constantinople,) Gregory I., the then Pope, had repeatedly denounced "*As contrary to the gospel of Christ; as subversive of the authority of all other Bishops; and, by*

† The notion that the Roman Church was infallible, or that of identifying her with the Catholic Church, is never once appealed to, in any of the numerous Controversies of the day, not even in that of the Three Chapters, in which Rome was principally concerned. This principle admitted, that dispute might have been easily settled at once but the wicked device had not yet issued from its dark place below.

consequence, destructive of the Church; and, what is eminently notable, as a SURE SIGNAL OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE PREDICTED ANTICHRIST." (u) 'That year Columbanus arrives in Italy, having been expelled from France, after spending there twenty years of unremitting toil and sore persecution, in the cause of Christ. He is now at Milan, pursuing his missionary labours among the Lombards. The Controversy of the Three Chapters is still raging, and distracting the Churches; and Columbanus, anxious to vindicate his mother Church, and urged withal, by the earnest request of Aigilulf, king of the Lombards, writes to the Pope a letter of faithful remonstrance, urging him to cleanse the chair of Peter, and clear himself and his Church of the charge of heresy. It is necessary to know these circumstances, in order, rightly, to understand the spirit and tone of this letter; which I cannot otherwise describe, than as breathing all through *the purest catholicity, and the most uncompromising protestantism.* But the extracts will speak for themselves.

Thus, after having introduced his subject, and given the Pope all his *legal* titles, he says, apologizing for his own interference in the matter, "It is not vanity, but grief, that compels me, a mere dwarf, of the meanest rank, to write to such lofty personages; seeing that the name of God is blasphemed among the nations, through *you* contending with one another. For I do grieve, I confess, *for the infamy of the chair of St. Peter.*" Again: "The storm threatens *the wreck of the ship of the church*; and hence it is, that I, a timid sailor, cry out, 'Keep watch; for the water *has already made its entrance into the vessel, and the ship is in jeopardy.*' For *we* (the Irish) are the disciples of saints Peter and Paul, and of all those their disciples, who by the Holy Ghost have written the divine Canon:—yes, *we, the whole body of the Irish,* (v) who are inhabitants of the ends of the world, AND RECEIVE NOTHING BEYOND THE TEACHING OF THE EVANGELISTS AND THE APOSTLES. There has never been amongst us any heretic, any Judaizer, any schismatic; but the catholic faith has been held unshaken by us, as it was first delivered to us by you, the successors, to be sure, of the holy Apostles." Again: "Therefore, *that thou mayest not be deprived of apostolic honour, preserve the apostolic faith*; (w) confirm it by testimony; strengthen it by writing; fortify it by synod; *to the end that none may justly resist*

u See Dupin, *century 6*, p. 78: who, nevertheless, suppresses the last circumstance mentioned above, namely, the reference to Antichrist!

v Nos • • • toti Heberi • • • nihil extra evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam recipientes. Columbanus keeps to the Irish *Rule of Faith*; and that, too, with pride. Columbanus uses *toti* for *cuncti* in other places.

w Ut ergo honore apostolico non careas, conserva fidem apostolicam.

thee. (x) Despise not the poor advice of a stranger, as being the teacher of one (y) who is zealous for thy sake. The world is now drawing to an end: THE *prince of pastors* (z) is approaching: beware lest he find thee remiss and negligent, both beating thy fellow-servants with the blows of an evil example, and eating and drinking with Hebrews; lest what follows (in that place of Scripture) befall thee, as the consequence of thy security. '*For he who is ignorant, shall be ignorant.*' (1 Cor. xiv. 38.) * * * * Watch, therefore, I pray thee, O Pope; watch, and again I say: Watch; because, doubtless, *Vigilius* did not well keep vigil; (a) whom, those who throw blame upon thee, cry out to be the *Head of the scandal*." (b)

Here it is plainly implied, that the Church of Rome may not preserve the apostolic faith; and that, in such a case, she should be stripped of all apostolic honour. Where, then, was the divine right, and the infallibility? Nay, it is plainly intimated that the case had already occurred, and that Rome had already forfeited her title to be called an apostolic Church: and so the Irish Church judged, at this time, as we shall further see by and by. But we proceed with Columbanus.

"Lest, therefore, 'the murderer from the beginning' (Satan) bind men in this his very long cord (c) of error, let the cause, I beseech thee, of the schism be immediately cut off from thee by the sword, as it were, of St. Peter, that is, *by a true confession of faith* in a synod, (d) and, by a renouncing of all heretics; *that thou mayst cleanse the chair of Peter from every error*, nay, horror, if any, (as is reported,) has gained an entrance there; if not, that its purity may be known of all. For, it is doleful, nay, deplorable, IF IN AN APOSTOLIC SEAT THE CATHOLIC FAITH IS NOT HELD. * * * Therefore, I beseech you, for Christ's sake; come to the relief of your own good name, which is torn to pieces among the nations; that your silence be no longer imputed to your treachery by your rivals. Dissemble, therefore, no longer: keep no longer silence, but send forth the voice of a true shepherd. * * * Surely the blame is YOURS (e), IF YOU HAVE WANDERED FROM THE

x Ut nullus tibi jure resistat.

y Aigilulf, the king of the Lombards.

z One of the assumed Titles of the Pope, at the time the Epistle was written. The Epistle abounds with such polished allusions and gentle sarcasms,—as, in the reference to *Vigilius*, in the next sentence.

a *Vigilius non bene Vigilavit*.—See Note r, p. 61.

b Another allusion to the Pope's legal title, "Head of the Churches,"—"Head of the scandal" rather, says our noble protestor. So it is also in the pointed contrast, *Head and tail*, in the next extract.

c Alluding to the long-continuing discord on the Three Chapters.

d *Cultello quodammodo Saneti Petri, id est, vera in synodo fidei Confessione*.

e The blame of the schisms and excommunications.

TRUE FAITH, and MADE VOID THE FIRST FAITH. DESERVEDLY DO YOUR JUNIORS RESIST YOU: DESERVEDLY DO THEY REFUSE COMMUNION WITH YOU, until the memory of the wicked (f) be wiped out from you, and consigned to oblivion. For, if these charges are more certain than false, then, the tables being burned, your sons are changed into the *Head*, and you into the *tail*; which is a grief, even to say. Therefore, also, *they* shall be your judges, who have always kept the Catholic faith,—no matter who they be, even though they may appear to be your juniors. (g) *For the orthodox and true Catholics are they who have never, at any time, either received or defended heretics, or any persons suspected of heresy; but HAVE ALWAYS ZEALOUSLY PERSEVERED IN THE TRUE FAITH.*" (21)

Could there be a taint of modern Romanism in the mind, that dictated the language of the foregoing extract? Could there be in that mind the remotest sentiment similar to that of a modern Papist? Could there be in it a thought of an infallible Church, or of the now pretended prerogatives of the chair of Peter? No, the language is, in every sense, the very reverse of Popery. So far from any divine right or divine attribute of inerrancy, being thought by the writer to attach to the chair of Peter, that he plainly supposes that chair to be already defiled with deadly heresy, fallen from the Catholic faith, and, in that state, for now a whole half century. The whole Epistle goes upon the supposition, that the Roman Church, and those in communion with her, not only *can* lose, but *has* already actually lost, the Catholic faith; that the chair of Peter, not only *may* need, but *does* need, cleansing from doctrinal pollution; that the sword of Peter, so far from implying any thing mystical—any inherent prerogative—is simply *a true confession of faith in a synod*;" and that such Confession being withheld, or failing, "The junior Churches are turned into the *head*,—are become Rome's *judges*;" and not only *may*, but *ought*, to resist her, and refuse communion with her. "DESERVEDLY DO YOUR JUNIORS RESIST YOU: DESERVEDLY DO THEY REFUSE COMMUNION WITH YOU." Surely, no statements could be more sound, more protestant, more antipapistical? And where can we find a more protestant definition of true Catholicism than the words, "THE ORTHODOX AND TRUE CATHOLICS ARE THEY WHO HAVE ALWAYS ZEALOUSLY PERSEVERED IN THE TRUE FAITH?"

And yet Columbanus goes somewhat farther still. We shall give another extract or two. Let us see what he calls the chair of Peter;

f *Perditorum*, * * that is, Pope Vigilius, and all those who, with the Church of Rome, followed the fifth general Council (so-called), condemning the Three Chapters.

g It is evident Columbanus means by "*Sons and Juniors*" those who received the faith later than the Church of Rome.

and what he makes Rome's headship to be; and what he thought of the absolving power, and ecclesiastical unity, &c. He says,

"*With us (the Irish) it is not PERSONS, but REASON, that has weight; but the love of gospel-peace compels me to speak out, freely, what a stupor has come over you both, who ought to have remained one choir.*" * * * For *we*, as I have before said, have been devoted to the *chair* of St. Peter: for though *Rome* be great and renowned, yet, with *us*, she is great and renowned, *only on account of that chair*. For though that ancient and most august name (*Rome*), of Ausonian glory, became renowned even to our western and out-of-the-world (*h*) parts; yet from the time, in which God vouchsafed to be the Son of God, and, riding on his two most glowing steeds, Peter and Paul, stirred up the stagnant waters of this world, and multiplied charioteers to the millions of innumerable nations; *the head charioteer himself, namely, Christ, the true Father, the Horseman of Israel*, came even unto us. Since that time, you (*Romans*) are great and illustrious with us, and Rome is more noble and renowned; nay, you are, if one may so speak, well nigh celestial with us, *for the sake of Christ's two Apostles*; and Rome is the head of the Churches of the world, SAVING THE SINGULAR PREROGATIVE OF THE PLACE OF OUR LORD'S RESURRECTION." (22)

Let the reader weigh well what is stated here, before we proceed further. Columbanus plainly declares, 1^o That Christianity was as early in Ireland as at Rome herself. 2^o That it flowed thither from the same divine fountain; yea, 3^o That it was Christ himself that brought it there; whom he calls "*The Head-charioteer, and the true Father, &c.,*" in sarcastic contrast with the lately assumed *legal*, but arrogant and impious, Titles of the Pope. 4^o That whatever renown Rome had in Ireland, in addition to her old heathen claim, as the "*Head of Cities*," was, merely, *from a regard* to the memories of the two Apostles, Peter and Paul: *it was a mere voluntary HONOUR*. 5^o That it was to the chair of Peter, *not to the Roman Church, as such*, they (the Irish) were devoted; and that *reason, not persons*, weighed with them: that is to say, that not the person sitting in the chair of Peter, but his behaving himself in such a way as became that chair; or in other words, his adhering to the Confession and faith of Peter, had influence in the Irish Church. And, 6^o and most striking of all, that *the SORT of Headship, which the Irish ascribed to Rome, was exactly of the same nature with that which they ascribed to Jerusalem, BUT INFERIOR IN DEGREE: Jerusalem FIRST, Rome NEXT, and BOTH on grounds merely of pious feeling, not from any thought, or remote surmise even,*

A Transinundialis loca. The reader will remember this little work is intended for *the many*.

of ANY DIVINE RIGHT, OF DIVINE APPOINTMENT WHATEVER. (i) No, neither Columbanus, nor the Irish Church, nor any one else, in that age, ever dreamt of such a thing; for it is to be well borne in mind, that all that the writer says, bearing on this point, is of an indirect and incidental character. And, now mark, how all this is borne out by what follows in the very next sentence. As the honour was voluntary, so he adds,—

“ Thus it is, then, that, as your honour is great, in consideration of the dignity of the chair; so you have need of great care, that you lose not your DIGNITY through any PERVERSITY. For so long shall power remain with you, as right reason remains with you. For the sure key-keeper of the kingdom of Heaven is HE who, by true knowledge, opens to the worthy, and shuts to the unworthy: OTHERWISE, if he do the contrary, he will be able neither to open nor to shut. Seeing, then, that these are true principles and received, AS INDISPUTABLY TRUE, BY ALL THE WISE: since you, (because forsooth no one is ignorant how our Saviour gave to St. Peter the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,) since you, I say, ASSUME TO YOURSELVES, (PERHAPS, ON THIS ACCOUNT,) BY SOME ARROGANCE OR OTHER, I KNOW NOT WHAT, AN AUTHORITY AND POWER IN DIVINE THINGS ABOVE OTHERS; KNOW THAT, IF YOU EVEN THINK SUCH A THING IN YOUR HEARTS, THE LESS WILL YOUR POWER BE WITH THE LORD: because that which makes unity of power and prerogative, all the world over, is unity of faith,” (i. e. preserving the one faith. And to what end does it make this unity of power!) “to the end that liberty to the truth be given every where by all, and access to error be in like manner refused by all; seeing it was a right Confession, that gave the privilege, even to THE HOLY key-keeper himself, THE COMMON FATHER-ABBOT OF US ALL. Let it be allowed, then, even to juniors, to stir you up in their zeal for the faith, for the love of peace, and for the unity of our common mother, the Church; which, like Rebecca, is torn in her maternal bowels, and grieves over the strife and intestine war of her own

i And yet, says Dr. Rock, “Of the Fathers of the Church, whether of the East or of the West, none of them all declares the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, in stronger or more unequivocal language than the Irish St. Columbanus.” (*Letter to Lord John Manners.*) Well, if this be so, the only inference is, that “The Fathers of the Church” say nothing at all about the supremacy. Dr. Rock uttered more truth than he was aware of, when he penned the above sentence. Dr. Rock’s ground for the assertion are the titular epithets, “Rome is the head of the Churches of the Earth, &c.” “Rome is the head of the Churches OF EUROPE.” Like a true Romanist, Dr. Rock cares not for sense: words are enough for him. Yet, I know not, whether a dissenting Minister of this day, addressing our Archbishop of Canterbury, would hesitate to give him all his legal, or assumed, Titles. Certainly, the minister would be more impolite than Columbanus if he did; and, especially, if like Columbanus, he was addressing the said Archbishop in remonstrance, and as a peace-maker. Nay, I know not, whether he would be so sarcastic as Columbanus.

children; and, in sadness, weeps the distraction of her own inward parts." (k) (23)

Here, then, reader, was true scriptural orthodoxy and independence, indeed; Irish-Church independence; and *that*, not in Ireland merely, but even in the heart of Italy, and, almost, at the very gates of Rome. I have not space for further comments; but I think I may appeal to every reader, whether our own venerable Jewel, were he standing in the place of Columbanus, could *then* have made a more noble defence, or a more *protestant* appeal: or, in other words, whether,—considering that Popery and "The man of sin" were then but first beginning *doubtfully* to manifest themselves; and considering whence Columbanus wrote; and that the dear object of his true Irish heart was, not contention or strife, but reform and peace, and the defence of the faith,—whether, I say, any language, while refined, and polished, and scholar-like in the extreme, could, at the same time, be more firm, more faithful, and more uncompromising; more keenly cutting and delicately sarcastic; in short, more sound, and pious, and Christian, and, withal, *more truly protestant*. What! says he, "The very thinking, in your hearts, that the giving of the keys to Peter gives you ought of power and prerogative more than to others: why, the very arrogance sinks you (!) with the Lord." And, again, "Peter, the common Father-abbot of us all." Which is as much as to say, (for thus the whole extract may be expressed,) "whatever Peter was, or whatever he received, we *all* have the same right and interest in him as you:—*all* of us, that is, who have what *he* had, and what made him a door-keeper,—namely, a *right Confession of Faith*. *This*, alone, is *the chair* of Peter, as well as *the sword* of Peter; and he, only, that retains *this*, sits in the one, and wields in the other; and, to him alone, do we *allow* unity of power and prerogative, *for the sake of unity of faith*. As long, then, as you give us a right Confession, so long we allow you *the honour*; but no longer. And this we allow as a mere matter of expediency, and ecclesiastical utility; for so it is all the world over: that so liberty to the truth be given everywhere by all, and access to error be in like manner refused by all."

You see, then, reader, Popery did not creep into the world altogether unawares. No, it had to battle with its protesters onward from the beginning; and it is the glory of our isle, that, as she was "The Island of Saints, and the Teacher of Europe;" so she was *the first and the earliest protestant Church* in the world,—ay, and the longest-continued too: as we now proceed to shew.

k *Epistola S. Columbani ad Bonifacium Papam IV. Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, Tom. 12, p. 351, etc.* The noblest monument of antiquity.

l "Degrades you with the Lord;" a common classical use of the latin word, *minor*.

SEVENTH CHAPTER.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED: SUBSEQUENT TESTIMONIES TO THE INDEPENDENCE AND ANTI-ROMANISM OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

I have dwelt the longer on the testimony Columbanus, because, properly speaking, it is that of the national Church, in defence of which he writes. Throughout the Epistle he identifies himself, as we have seen, with the Irish people, and states their principles; so that the sentiments and feelings, which he expresses, are, as strictly, those of the Irish Church of his day, as the apology of Jewel is, that of the Church of England. But, it is far from being a solitary testimony: the *opposition* at home,—as might naturally be expected from the excommunication already referred to, and from a difference of circumstances,—was more hot and more irreconcilable. Columbanus, though firm and faithful, yet wrote as a peace-maker, and, accordingly, with a predisposition to soften, rather than aggravate, the evil, and to bring the Pope to cleanse the chair of Peter, in the matter of the Three Chapters. The Church at home, believing as Columbanus did, that the Church of Rome, and all that sided with her, had fallen into deadly error, and, accordingly, forfeited all apostolic *honour*, refused to hold any communion whatever with her, and resisted every effort to bring about conformity, *even in minor matters*.

Romanists affect to think lightly of this opposition, and would fain gloss it over as unimportant, under the pretence that the points in dispute, at the time, between the Irish Church and the Church of Rome, were few, and, in themselves, trifling. (n) But Romanists well know, that

n I do not enter either into the number or importance of the points themselves at issue, simply because they have nothing whatever to do with our argument. However, we may state here, merely for the information of the reader, that, instead of being few and trifling, they were, as Bede himself *often* tells us, *numerous and serious*. They related, he says, to the time of celebrating Easter; the mode of the clerical Tonsure; “*and a variety of other ecclesiastical observances*.” Again, he says, “*many other practices*.” And again, “And also VERY MANY other things they (the Churches in Britain) practised *contrary* to the unity of the Church.” Sed et alia plurima unitati ecclesie contraria faciebant. (*Lib.* 2, c. 2.) In short, the differences between the two Churches related to that mass of gorgeous forms and superstitious ceremonies which Rome had been long accumulating around her, and which had laid the foundation of all her corruptions. But though the two Churches thus differed in their entire aspect, yet the Roman party had the *cunning* to put the Paschal question in the foreground of the controversy, because, though trifling in itself, yet the difference here was most palpable, and *visible*, and *inconvenient*: one portion of the same people, for instance, (and often members of the same family, as was the case in the court of king Oswy,) celebrating Easter, while another was keeping Lent. The party knew that if they succeeded in

this is not the question. On the contrary, the fewer and more trifling the points at issue,—let them be even as few and trifling as Romanists will,—only the more glaring is the opposition, and the more, a great deal, it makes for our argument. The question is, Did the Irish Church, even in the seventh and eighth centuries, think of the Church of Rome, as Romanists now think of her? Did the Irish Church believe in the now alleged infallibility, or the now pretended prerogatives of the chair of Peter? Or, did she maintain her own independence, as a national Church, and an integral part of the Church of Christ? In short, Did she reject the usages, and resist the authority, of the Church of Rome? This is the alone question we have to deal with in this matter. And, that the Irish Church, both at home, and in all her branches in north and south Britain, did so maintain her independence, and spurn the decisions of Rome, even in, apparently, the most trifling matters, we have most abundant details of evidence in Bede himself, and other writers of that age.

Thus,—to give, now, a few instances, by way of specimen,—Bede, speaking of Oswy, king of Northumbria, (A. D. 664,—that is more than a hundred years after the excommunication,) says, “Notwithstanding that the most noble Oswy was brought up among the Scots, *yet did he acknowledge, that the Church of Rome was Catholic and Apostolic :*” plainly intimating, that the Scots or Irish, among whom he was converted and educated, held and taught the contrary,—believed, as Columbanus did, that Rome had already forfeitted all title to that *honour*. And *this*, no doubt, was what embittered their opposition in other points of difference.

Again, speaking of the old British Church, (between which and the Irish there existed the closest communion,) the same Bede says, “Even to this day (A. D. 731,) it is the manner of the Britons to contemn and despise the religion of the English, (*i. e.* of the Roman party at Canterbury,) *nor will they hold communion with them in any thing more than with Pagans.*” (o)

And, no less bitter was the feeling in Ireland; and, for this, we have the unexceptionable witness of the Roman party themselves. Bede has preserved a letter, addressed by that party to the Irish Church, which he prefaces in these words, “Laurentious wrote to the Scots, inhabiting their aforesaid country, *Hibernia*; who, he understood, followed, in many

this, the *main point* would be gained; their *authority* would be admitted; and the Irish missionaries would be obliged either to submit or retire. *The device succeeded*: Oswy is brought round to the Roman Pasch; Colman retires; and the Scoto-Saxon Churches are new-modelled. For the Pasch and clerical Tonsure, *see Appendix* (15), First Part.

o *Bede*, L. 2, c. 20.

things, like the Britons, a rather unecclesiastical life and profession,"—that is, un-Romish life and profession. Now, this letter says,—

"Laurentius, and Millitus, and Justus, Bishops, to the Bishops and Abbots throughout all *Scotia*. Having become acquainted with the Britons, we began to hope the Scots were better. But, we learned, through Bishop Dagan coming into this Island, and Abbot Columbanus coming into Gaul, *that there is no difference between the British and the Scots*, in their manner of living. *For Bishop Dagan coming here, not only would not eat with us, but even would not take food under the same roof with us.*" (p)

But this is not all. We have to add, that when the Roman party, at length, prevailed in England, by their usual weapons,—those, namely, of intrigue and policy, and the influence of princes; Colman, the last Bishop of those noble missionaries, who had converted almost the whole of the Heptarchy,—Colman, I say, rather than conform to the new Roman usages, resigned his charge at Lindisfarne, and returned to his own country. "Seeing" (says Bede, in an exulting strain,) "his doctrine *despised*, and his *sect* looked down upon, taking with him those who were willing to follow him, he returned to *Scotia*, about to confer with his own people, as to what course he should pursue in these matters." (q)

But, at home the feeling was worse, if possible. *There* they looked upon Rome, as we have already said, and all who sided with Rome, as fallen from the Catholic faith, and guilty of the crime of heresy. Indeed, this was the popular outcry: it was what we may call the no-popery cry of the great body of the Irish Church,—Bishops, and Clergy, and people. Now, one authentic proof, of this important fact, will suffice.

We have an Epistle of an Irish divine, of the name of Cumman, written at that very time, (the latter half of the seventh century,) on this subject. Cumman had convinced himself, by long and patient study, of the truth of the Catholic Easter, and had, accordingly, embraced it, agreeably to the decree, not of the Church of Rome, but of the Church universal in the Council of Nice. But, so great was the outcry against himself and his party for this single act of conformity, that he found himself under the necessity of writing the letter I have referred to,—which is one altogether "of excuse and apology;" and which fully lays open to us the state of feeling in the Irish Church at the time. He says,—

"My Fathers, it is not from any unbecoming forwardness, that I presume to lay before the face of your holiness, the words of this *my exculpation*; but, from an earnest desire, to stand *excused* with you:

p *Bede*, L. 2, c. 4.

q *Bede*, L. 3, c. 25-6.

calling God to witness to my soul, that it is not from any contempt of you, or pride in my own wisdom, or any slighting of the wisdom of others, that I have adopted the solemnity of the Paschal festival." Then, after describing the process of enquiry and research, by which he had, at length, arrived at the truth, he says, "I beseech you to ponder this matter diligently, that you may either *forgive* me, or direct me by more cogent arguments: if not, hold your peace, and *forbear to call us HERETICS.*" "Judge not that ye be not judged, &c." And, then, he argues from the incongruity of believing all the rest of the world in error, and themselves alone right. "What more grievous than to say, of Mother Church, '*Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, the whole world errs; the Scots and Britons alone think right.*'" (r) (24)

Here, then, is positive testimony from the lips of an eye and ear witness, and one who was himself most deeply interested in, and sensibly affected by, the matter, that the feeling, pervading the Irish, was that Rome and all that sided with Rome were *fallen into fatal error*; and, that the name given there, to all those that joined Rome, even in the simple matter of the Paschal solemnity, was *that of HERETICS.* "*Forbear to call us HERETICS,*" says the apologist: and, throughout the whole Epistle, he evinces the greatest uneasiness, and the utmost anxiety, to guard himself against the universal outcry and odium.

Thus it was, then, that matters stood, in Ireland, towards the close of the seventh century; and, so they continued, till the early part of the eighth: when, at length, the heat of Controversy having cooled down, many of the Irish were persuaded, *not by the authority of the Pope, but by their own countryman, Adamnan, to adopt the Catholic Paschal rule*: though, as Usher has proved, the question was still kept alive, more or less, till after the middle of the ninth century.

Surely then, it is almost needless to say, a more signal and decided proof there well could not be, of the *independence and anti-Romanism* of the early national Church of Ireland, both at home and abroad, than her conduct throughout the long period of this controversy. To say that she was ignorant of the Nicene decree, and the Roman rule, is a contemptible subterfuge and paltry quibble. Was Columbanus ignorant of it, at the very time that he is expressly writing against it to the Pope, and to the persecuting Bishops of France? Was he ignorant of it, when he says to the former, that *any man, be he who he may, (i. e. even though the Pope himself), who contradicts St. Jerome on this question, will be SPURNED AS A HERETIC by the Churches in Ireland and Britain?* Was

he ignorant of it, when he begs of the latter, (I quote the words of Dr. Lanigan), "to examine, with mildness and humility, which is the true tradition;" when "he adds, that he was not the author of the question, and that he and his companions merely wish to follow the practice of their elders;" and says, "It would be better for you to comfort us poor strangers, than thus to go on disturbing us;" and "If it be God's will that they should drive him out of the desert, whither he had come from so great a distance for the love of Christ, he will say with the prophet, '*If I be the cause of this tempest, make it to cease by throwing me into the sea?*'" Or when, again, in his letter to the Pope, he pleads the second canon of the Second General Council, which decrees, *that those Churches of God which are without the Roman empire, are to be administered according to the usages of their Fathers?*" (*) Or was the Irish Church at home and in Britain ignorant of it, when it was urged upon her as **THE Catholic rule**, and the Roman practice? Nay, nay: it is a wretched subterfuge; and the only satisfactory reason that can be assigned for the Irish Church so long and so obstinately resisting so universal a practice, and so simple a change, and, withal, so just a one, (as Cummian ably proved), is, that *it was urged by Rome as a term of communion*, and badge of submission to her authority. The adoption of the practice drew after it this consequence: it was so understood by both parties; and hence the heat with which the controversy was carried on on both sides: hence the tyranny and cruelty with which it was urged by the Church of Rome, on the one side; and hence the steadfastness and faithfulness with which it was resisted by the Irish Church on the other. Hence the resignation of his sacred charge by Bishop Colman, rather than conform to the practice under such a condition: and hence at home the outcry and odium against those who did conform to it. The independence of their dear national Church was dearer to the Irish clergy and people than a mere rite, however catholic: and hence, when there was no longer any danger from a foreign enslaver, they *calmly adopted for themselves* the Nicene decree, and quietly fell in with the universal practice.

Yet strange, though not singular, to say, this is the very controversy and the very Church, of which a popular historian does not hesitate to assert, That, "on the very first serious occasion of Controversy that presented itself,—the dispute relative to the time of celebrating Easter, it was resolved, that the question should be referred to the Head of Cities, and, a deputation being, accordingly, dispatched to Rome for the

* Lanigan, vol. 2, pp. 270—5.

purpose, the Roman practice was ascertained *and adopted*." (s) Yes, this is the very Church, of which Lord Shrewsbury's late Chaplain, Dr. Rock, has the courage to add, "That the ground work of belief, laid down by St. Patrick, was the Headship and spiritual supremacy of the Roman see." Yea, "which would not even move on a mission to the heathen without first going to Rome to do homage to the Pope, and crave the Apostolic leave and blessing." Yea, more, with which "*to blame, even the customs of Rome, was a deed amounting to heresy, and (thought) worthy of excommunication.*" (m)

You now see, reader, what you have to expect at the hands of such writers. You see, that the very reverse of what they state is the truth; and that, too, in every particular, in which the Church of Rome and the Church of England differ at this day. I think I am now entitled to call upon the reader for his hearty assent to this statement. I think I have clearly proved, to the satisfaction of every candid enquirer's mind, what I undertook to prove, namely, the literal Protestantism of the early Irish Church,—her Protestantism, even, onward, from the first moment, almost, of the tyranny and usurpation of the Church of Rome. I think I have given, in the preceding pages, more than evidence enough of the full agreement, in all things, of the Church, fostered and matured, (if not first planted,) in Ireland by St. Patrick, with the Church now established in that country,—and all this, in all her establishments at home and abroad, yea, even in Italy,—and up to, at least, three hundred years after Patrick, in *all* cases, and in *some* to a much longer period, and, especially, in that main article of all, her independence and freedom, without a single rag or solitary badge about her of the man of sin,—no, not so much as the pallium or the legatine office. And, I think, too, I may add, that one plain and obvious inference, from all this, is, that, as the present Protestant Irish Church,—(God prosper her, and be a wall of fire round about her, especially, at this trying crisis,)—is thus the literal descendant, in doctrine as well as succession, of the early Irish Church; so is she also, the direct heir and rightful possessor of all that Church's early endowments and pious foundations.

s History of Ireland, by Thomas Moore, Esq., vol. 1, p. 267. The only ground Mr. Moore has for this sweeping statement, is the single case of Cumman and his party; who, as we have proved from Cumman's own words quoted above, were, for that very act, looked upon as apostates and "HERETICS" by the Irish Church. Yet Mr. Moore's statement gives the reader the impression, that the case of Cumman was that of the whole Irish Church. How jesuitical!

m Dr. Rock's Letter to Lord John Manners.

EIGHTH CHAPTER.

HOW POPERY WAS FIRST BROUGHT IN, AND FINALLY PROPAGATED IN IRELAND.

It only remains, that I should now state a few facts in conclusion, to shew how Popery first gained an entrance into, and, at length, propagated itself in, a country, which had so long and so nobly resisted its efforts. And this, let me say very briefly, was effected by Popery's usual arts,

SUBTLETY AND VIOLENCE.

At first it *crawled in at a slow space, stealthily and insidiously*, through England, by the way of Canterbury; and, afterwards,—this not succeeding quite to the Pope's wish,—it *forced its way by violence* upon an unwilling and undeserving people. In short, the process was simply this: the Danes, who had been committing great ravages in Ireland, during the ninth and tenth centuries, having been totally crushed in the battle of Clontarf, A. D. 1014; those of them, who had already embraced the Christian religion, were allowed, for the sake of commerce, to retain quiet possession, under their own kings, of the three cities, Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford. Now this, which was a wise and judicious policy, was, nevertheless, the disastrous occasion of THE FIRST SECRET INLET OF PAPAL INFLUENCE IN IRELAND. Soon after this event, the Normans, a people of the same race with the Danes, became established in England. Now, here was a crisis not to be lost sight of, by the sagacious usurper of Christ's offices and titles, at Rome. Accordingly, Lanfranc, an Italian, is no sooner consecrated to the see of Canterbury, than he is appointed Papal legate, (by his former pupil, Pope Alexander), to correspond with the Irish kings. And the fruits of the appointment soon appeared: for we find that, but two years after, the Bishop of Dublin dying, the king and clergy and people of that city, *would have no bishop but such as was consecrated by, and subject to, the Archbishop of Canterbury*; and Limerick and Waterford follow successively in their train. Indeed, these Dano-Irish Bishops were, for the most part, English monks, bred up at Canterbury, or St. Alban's, or Winchester, and sent in upon the Irish Church, with all their captivating forms and ensnaring novelties. Thus, a new influence begins *secretly* to work: a regular correspondence is kept up with Lanfranc and Anselm, and their successors; and a *clandestine movement*, exactly similar to that attempted in our own land at

this day, is *managed*; which, after some sixty years, breaks out into an exactly similar *agitation*. The *faction* gradually extends itself: other English monks gain access to other Irish Bishopricks; as for instance, Malchus to Lismore; and the conspiracy becomes bolder and bolder: till, in the year 1110, we have, for the first time, as we have seen, a Papal legate in Ireland, in the person of Gillebert, Bishop of the Dano-Irish city of Limerick, and an old and attached friend of Archbishop Anselm.

How the Irish Church at first resented all this, we have sufficient proof in the following extract of a letter, addressed by the burgesses and clergy of Dublin, to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1122: "Know thou in all verity, that the Bishops of Ireland have great indignation against us; and most of all, that Bishop that dwelleth at Armagh: because we *will* not submit to their ordination, but *will* be always in subjection to thy rule and government." (n) At length, however, Celsus, the very Bishop who presided at Armagh when this letter was written, seems to have been taken in the snare, and become closely connected with the new *reforming* party. (o) (25)

But the great *Church-agitator* and *revolutionist* of the day, was the celebrated Malachy, the successor of Celsus; who was educated from his childhood in the great cathedral school of Armagh, and, as it appears very evident, *was specially trained for the office and work of a REFORMER*; but who died, good man, (before he saw the work completed), at Clairvaux, in the arms of St. Bernard, while on a second pious journey to Rome, A. D. 1148, for the purpose of being a suppliant, in person, at the Pope's feet, for the pallium to be conferred on the time-honoured metropolitan see of St. Patrick. But I must observe, that I do not mean to say, that Malachy himself, (nor probably Celsus, nor Gelasius, Malachy's successor), was in the secret of the party. *That*, doubtless, was entrusted but to a few. But certainly they could not find a fitter or more able instrument to work with than Malachy,—a good man, of a thoroughly Irish heart, enthusiastically enamoured of the pomp and circumstance and *system* of the new Roman fashions, and one to whom, naturally, every thing un-Romish and simply Irish appeared, in the comparison, contemptible and beggarly and barbarous, if not altogether intolerable and anti-christian. The reader will remember his rapturous exclamation to St. Bernard, on leaving (on his first pilgrimage to Rome) some of his followers at Clairvaux, there to learn foreign monkery, and, by and by, introduce it into Ireland: an exclamation, which is an expressive

n *Usher from the Cotton. Manuscripts. Sylloge No. 40.*

o Celsus died at Lismore, (being on a visit to Malchus), and was buried there by his own order, A. D. 1129.

epitome of Malachy's mind, and shews the utter contempt and scorn in which he held the ancient and venerable institutions of his own country. He exclaimed, "They will serve us for seed, and in this seed nations will be blessed, even those nations which from old times have HEARD of the name of monk, but have never SEEN a monk."

Such was Malachy O'Morgair, the great Irish-Church reformer of the twelfth century, and the first Irish saint that ever won the honours of canonization at the court of the supreme Pontiff. His life and acts, written by his friend and admirer, St. Bernard, have come down to us; and it is well that they have; as they give us a tolerably accurate, though undesigned, description of the memorable *revolution* now wrought in the Irish Church, and of the *laborious* process by which it was effected.

Now, the following few extracts, chiefly from this work of Bernard, and from Dr. Lanigan himself, (who, notwithstanding his best efforts, is unable to gloss over the matter,) will be abundantly sufficient to put all I have stated in the preceding sketch, in a clear and convincing light. (p)

Thus, Anselm writes to Gillebert, earnestly urging him to a vigorous reform in the Irish Church: and, says Dr. Lanigan, "In fact, Gillebert, subsequently to his having received this letter, signalised his zeal by endeavouring to bring all the practices, liturgical, and connected with the Church service, * * to one uniform system, conformable to that of the particular Church of Rome: comprising these matters under the general name of ecclesiastical order, he wrote a tract '*De Ecclesiastico usu*,' that, (in Gillebert's own words,) '*all various and schismatical orders*' might make way for the one consecrated rule of the Roman Church." Yet, "Gillebert DID NOT SUCCEED, at least, to any considerable degree, in setting aside the Irish offices." (q) Strange! "Did not succeed," though Papal legate, and backed by the authority of the supreme Pontiff!

Again, speaking of Malachy, Dr. Lanigan says (from Bernard), "When Malachy was about twenty-five years of age, Celsus ordained him, and then appointed him his vicar, for the purpose of establishing necessary reforms. St. Malachy exerted himself greatly in this respect, and established the customs of the Roman Church in all the churches of the diocese" that is, of Armagh: and, says Bernard, "Lo! he began to lay the axe to the root, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to scatter, * * to extirpate barbarous rites, and plant ECCLESIASTICAL ones; to abolish old superstitions, of which there were not a few, and to establish in their

p For more copious details, the following works may be consulted, viz. *Usher's Sylloge*; *Bernard's Life of Malachy*; *Ware's Bishops*; *Ware's Writers*; *Dr. Lanigan*, vol. 4.

q *Lanigan*, vol. iv, p. 26—9. Of course Gillebert's main object was to introduce the Roman mass.

stead, the apostolical enactments and decrees of the holy fathers, AND ESPECIALLY THE USAGES OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH. And, then, the most wholesome use of Confession, the sacrament of Confirmation, the contract of Marriage; all which, his people before were either ignorant of, or did neglect, Malachy instituted *de novo*." (r)

Again, says Lanigan, "St. Malachy, doubting of his being sufficiently acquainted with the discipline of the Church, and wishing to be better informed concerning it, thought it advisable to place himself, for some time, under the venerable *Malchus, Bishop of Lismore*, * * * *who had been a monk of Winchester, whence he was taken to be raised to the see of Lismore*. Malachy remained with him some years at Lismore." This, though a very strange proceeding in one who had been brought up from his infancy in the great cathedral school at Armagh, and then entrusted, by his archbishop, with an unlimited commission of reform; yet is all very plain: of course, he went to *Lismore*, to learn there more perfectly what he could not learn at home; namely, *the religion, not of Armagh and of Ireland, but of Winchester and Rome*. This is obvious at first sight. But, to let this pass, the next notable thing we hear of Malachy is, his appointment as Bishop of Connor, at the age of thirty. And now hear what Bernard says of our juvenile reforming Bishop: "Then this man of God felt that he was appointed, *not over MEN, but over BEASTS*. Never before had he met with men in such barbarity; never before had he found men so stubborn against morals, so deadly to rites, so impious against faith, so savage to laws, so stiff-necked against disciplines, &c. * * * *christians in name, pagans in reality*. Not one could be found who would pay tithes or first-fruits; make confessions; ask for penances, or give them; or contract lawful marriages, &c." "What was the champion of God now to do? He must either *basely quit the field, or enter the lists AT HIS PERIL*." "What tongue can express *with what vexations* he was harrassed, *what affronts and contumelies* were heaped upon him, *with what wrongs* he was oppressed, &c.? At length, however, the *fierceness* yields; the *barbarism* begins to give way; the *persecuting (exasperans)* race begins to be softened, and to receive correction and discipline; *savage rites* are done away, and *THE ROMAN rites* are introduced; the usages of the Church are every where received; the sacraments are duly celebrated; *confessions* are made;

r Bernard. *Vita Malach.* c. 3. "The contract of Marriage," that is, *the (Roman) sacrament of Matrimony*. To understand by it that the Irish did not observe the laws of marriage, contradicts all Irish history; though Geraldus Cambrensis, and other calumniators of that age,—indeed, the whole faction,—did so misrepresent it, Lanfranc himself and Anselm not excepted. Sedulius reckons marriage among those things "that are gifts, but not *spiritual*." *Quod donum quidem sit, non tamen spirituale, ut nuptiæ.*—*Sedul. on Rom.* c. 1.

concubinage disappears; and in short, ALL THINGS are so changed for the better, that, to-day, we may well say of that nation, '*those which in time past were not a people, are now the people of God.*'" (s)

The reader will see, by these few specimens, what was now going on in that Church, which, but a century before, was still the teacher of Europe, and, even at this very time, had her matchless scribes and distinguished scholars. The reader will see what, on the one hand, were the clamours and misrepresentations and calumnies of the Romanizing faction; what, on the other, the opposition of the people; how this opposition was being gradually worked down; how the face of the whole Irish Church was being changed; how the religion of Patrick and his successors was contemned and exploded, as too mean and paltry for those flush spirits, and the gorgeous pageants of Rome embraced in its stead. It is well that the declamations of Bernard have come down to us; and, no doubt, had we a similar record of others of the party, we should see that the case of the arch-diocese, and of the diocese of Connor, is but a specimen of what was going on at the same time in other parts of the kingdom,—yes, of the rabid and reckless and cruel REFORM, which was being perpetrated at Lismore, and Dublin, &c., and wherever else any of THE FACTION had as yet gained a footing.

I do not allege these proofs in any tone of triumph: nay, so far from it, that I can assure the reader, whoever he may be, whether Romanist or Protestant, my heart rather weeps for my dear native soil, while I write these things; and while I con over the pages of Bernard, and reflect on the mad papistry of the age; which could lead such a man to pour out such outrageous effusions against that former religion of my country, which, however blemished it might have become during the ravages of the Danes, yet, had no blemish, in his jaundiced eyes, greater than that of its still too primitive simplicity, and entirely un-Romish, if not anti-Romish, aspect and character. Hence his cruel epithets and vague declamations; and hence, too, his enthusiastic admiration and rapturous hyperboles in commendation of the man, to whose labours was mainly owing the removal of this character, and the introduction of that system to which he was himself so blindly devoted.

But to proceed with a few more extracts: Malachy, after resigning the Archbishoprick of Armagh, goes to Rome, on his pious mission for the pallium, the archiepiscopal livery of Romanism, and "*the plenitude of honour*," (says Bernard), "*which had never before been granted to Ireland, and was yet wanting*" to complete the so-called reformation. Letters of course having arrived there before him from the faction, he is received with raptures, and honours are heaped upon him. The

Bernard's Life of Malachy, c. 8.

grateful *Father* all but dandles the *good boy* on his knee; and, (says Bernard), "Having made many and anxious enquiries of him and his companions, during all the time he was at Rome, concerning the circumstances of his country, the manners and usages of his nation, the state of the churches there, and *what great things God had wrought by his hands in the land*, the supreme Pontiff committed to him his own functions, and appointed him his legate for all Ireland. But as to the pallium," continues our author, "Ah, says the (CRAFTY) *summus Pontifex*, 'This is a matter which must be transacted with greater solemnity. Do you, assembling the bishops and clergy, and the chiefs of your country, celebrate a general council; and, after you shall have all agreed upon this point, apply for the pallium by means of respectable persons, and it shall be given you.' Then taking the mitre off his own head, he placed it on that of Malachy, and gave him the stole and maniple which he used to wear when officiating; and saluting him with the kiss of peace, dismissed him with his apostolic benediction and authority." (t)

Thus Malachy has purchased for himself a good degree. This was in the year 1140; and now all Ireland resounds with the echo of his Popish preaching, &c. "St. Malachy now (says Lanigan) set about performing the duties of his legateship, held, or procured to be held, synods in various places, re-established good old practices, and introduced new ones:" and says Bernard, "Now numerous councils are held in many places, *lest any district, or any portion of a district*, should be defrauded of the fruit and advantage of his legateship. * * Religion is planted and propagated every where, is every where fostered. Nor is it old usages only that are restored; but new ones are also devised, &c., and are committed to writing for the remembrance of posterity. * * And why should they not be received as sent from Heaven, seeing they were confirmed by so many miracles of Malachy?" (v)

One more extract is specially worthy our notice, as it gives us, incidentally, a further insight into the doctrinal changes effected in the Irish Church by Malachy. It is an account of one of the miracles of Malachy; and the chapter is headed thus:—

"Malachy becomes a Champion for the VERITY of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist."

And the case is thus related: "There was a certain clergyman at *Lismore*, of approved life, (it is said), but not of approved faith. This man, a knowing one in his own eyes, had the presumption to say, *that in the Eucharist is a sacrament only, and not the very thing signified by the sacrament*;—that is, *that there is in it SANCTIFICATION ONLY, and NOT*

t Bernard, c. 16; also, Lanigan, vol. 4, p. 112

v Bernard, c. 18.

THE VERITY OF THE BODY. (*w*) At first Malachy had frequent interviews with the man in private, but without effect. At length he is summoned before him (Malachy, the legate), yet *apart from the laity*, that, if possible, he might be healed, and not confounded. Accordingly, the liberty of a reply is allowed to him in a convention of the clergy; but, when he endeavoured to defend his error with all the power of subtlety, in which he was no mean adept, Malachy, disputing and arguing against him, being worsted in the opinion of all, he went out from the convention, confounded, it is true, but not convinced (*non correctus, incorrigible, &c.*) Nay, he went on to say that, *instead of being convinced by reason, he was crushed by the Bishop's authority*: 'and thou, Malachy,' said he, 'hast unjustly brow-beaten (*confudisti*) me this day, speaking, as assuredly thou didst, against the truth, and against thine own conscience.' Upon which Malachy, grieving for the obduracy of the man, but still more, *fearing injury to the faith, and dreading danger*, summons a general assembly of the Church; in which the man, *still persisting in his error*, * * is anathemized, and declared a heretic. Nor did he even then awaken: nay, he says, 'you all favour the man rather than the truth; but, for my part, I accept the person of no man, so as to desert the truth.' At which words the saint (Malachy) in a rage (*sanctus subtomachans*, i. e. *the saint's choler being rather high*) exclaims, 'may the Lord compel thee to confess the truth, even through necessity, (i. e. by death.)' To which the man answering, *amen*, the convention is dissolved."

Well then, reader, what ensued, think you? and what is the *marvellous* part of the story? for, as I have said, Bernard relates it as one of the *notable miracles* of Malachy. What was it then? O assuredly nothing else than the *cruel martyrdom* of the poor man, that very day! Bernard goes on to tell us, that on the same day, quitting *Lismore*, "*where he could no longer bear to remain IN INFAMY, he fell down by the way with SUDDEN ILLNESS*, and lay on the ground, unable to move backward or forward,—till an idiot approaching him, advises him to return, and helps him back to the city;" where, of course, "he instantly sends for Malachy, retracts his error, confesses his guilt, is absolved, receives the viaticum, and—DIES, almost that very moment. And thus," (concludes the pious Bernard) "was fulfilled, to the astonishment of all, and with all celerity, the word of Malachy (*x*); aye, and that of scripture too (*y*), which saith, *vexation alone shall make you understand what you hear.*" (*z*)

w Presumpsit dicere in Eucharistia esse tantummodo sacramentum, et non rem sacramenti, id est, solam sanctificationem, non corporis veritatem.

x Namely, the prayer, or *curses*, of the saint mentioned above, with which the council was dismissed.

y Isaiah xxviii. 19, Douay version.

z Vita Malach. c. 27.—See also *Lanigan*, vol. 4, p. 127

Here again, reader, is but a *specimen*,—a glass, through which to see the real truth. Yes, this goodly miracle of the excellent Papal vicar has more truth in it infinitely than the declamations of Bernard could disguise, or were meant to convey. I think the whole record shews us very plainly, how the ancient doctrine of John Scot Erigena and the Irish Church still lived, *even at Lismore*; and how it is being now *OPRESSED by violence and cruel trickery*, and that of Paschasius Radbert and Rome *FORCED ON in its stead*. Observe the thorough soundness of the doctrine still maintained even at Lismore, and in the face of the assembled heads of the faction, by this nameless victim of cruelty. Ah! though the name seemed too unworthy of Bernard's devotional pen to record, yet doubtless it is emblazoned high in the records of Heaven, and still lives there, and ever will live there, dear to God! But mark the perfect orthodoxy of the doctrine still testified to by this nameless but *faithful* *PROTO-MARTYR* of early Irish *PROTESTANTISM*. The sacrament, remember, of our Lord's body and blood, is, not a quickening or life-giving channel, but a feeding and nurturing sacrament,—a channel only of sanctification; and *this*, mark, is the very doctrine expressed in the words, "*In Eucharistia esse tantummodo sacramentum, et non rem sacramenti, id est, solam sanctificationem, non corporis veritatem.*" And, as I have just said, this is a glass, through which we may see the similar soundness of the other doctrines and usages supplanted at the time. Surely this narration of Bernard, (in whose arms Malachy died), is not *all* a legend. No: there is but *one figment* in the story; all the rest of the narrative are plain matters of fact, in which a writer of the day could not be mistaken. Synods and councils, controversies and oppositions, on points of faith and practice,—these are all plain obvious facts, of which the testimony of Bernard is decisive proof. So is that testimony sufficient proof also of the *remarkable* death of Malachy's opponent, however that death was effected; so that all that, properly speaking, is *suspicious* or *legendary* in the narrative, is the so-called miracle. Now, mark that it is only for the sake of this *reported* miracle that Bernard gives us the *particulars* of Malachy's legatine doings and *performances* at Lismore. All the other Papal vicar's *numerous synods and councils, and glorious reforms and changes*, he mentions merely in *general terms*, and without noticing the *particular* subjects themselves discussed in them. He only goes so far as to tell us in the *lump*, as it were, that the *old, odious, Irish-Church abuses and superstitions and barbarisms*, "*of which (says he) there were indeed no few,*" "*were rooted up, pulled down, swept away, &c.*" with an unsparing hand; and that the dear and darling religion of Rome was embraced and planted in their stead. But he goes aside out of his way, as it were, to record the *full particulars*

of the case at Lismore, not because of the special doctrine there debated, but because of the (supposed) miracle. Well, then, is it not more than plain, that had the narrator gone a little more out of his track in other cases, and given us a similar *particular* record of the *other* synods and councils of *this hot reforming period*,—oh! is it not more than plain, I say, that we should have many equally decisive proofs of the true orthodox character and scriptural soundness of the many other abominable superstitions and barbarisms! which were so energetically *abolished* at that time, that they might make way for the *precious* antagonist "*verities!*" of the Church of Rome? Yes! it is as plain to me as the sun at noon-day.

I cannot but think, too, that the intelligent Bernard knew something of the *true* character of the *very extraordinary* miracle he was recording; and that hence arose the *sly excuse*, which he throws in for the *saint's stomach and choleric imprecation*: "He feared injury to the faith and dreaded danger!" No doubt a very adequate reason, in Bernard's opinion, for God to interfere by miracle, in order to give effect to a saint's rage and angry imprecation! *Quære*: Was not Bernard in the secret of the faction of the man at Rome? But, whether this were so or not, I have little doubt on my own mind, from the facts of the case, that Lanfranc, and Anselm, and Gillebert, &c., were at the bottom of the conspiracy from the beginning; and whether those able and *pious plotters* had not something more in view than the *conquest* of the Irish Church *merely*, I will leave the reader to judge.

But I now hasten to a conclusion. Thus went on, at a rapid pace, the *revolution* of the Irish Church,—for that is its most suitable designation. The Romanizing party had now been working, in one way or other, *secretly* and *openly*, for nearly a hundred years; and the changes described in the preceding extracts, seem to have been so numerous, and so generally, if not universally, diffused, that one would scarcely think there was any room for further movement. Yet *two main points* still remained to be accomplished, in order to give *full* satisfaction to the parties *most interested*: *the one*, to satisfy the leaders at home; *the other*, to content the Pope,—and, probably, another great personage equally deep in the plot. There was yet no formal synodical union effected with the Roman Pontiff. The Irish people, as a *Church and nation*, had not yet applied for the pallium; nor, consequently, as yet bowed the neck to the badge of a foreign dependence. And it may appear strange, at first sight, why Malachy, who was so impatient—(for says Bernard, "he was very uneasy and *sad* over it,")—for that crowning measure; yet, notwithstanding the Pope's earnest request, deferred so long the assembling of the national synod for the purpose of "*the more solemn*

application for the pallium." But the reason is obvious. Neither the Irish Church nor people, notwithstanding all the changes, were yet ripe for that ultimate measure. Malachy having heard, however, that the Pope was coming into France, and would visit his former tutor at Clairvaux, St. Bernard, can no longer resist his impatience; and the long-wished-for national synod is at length called by himself and Gelasius, as Archbishop,—(poor man! he shall have soon sorely to repent his infatuation!),—and is fixed to meet at Holmpatrick, A. D. 1148. And very strange again it is to say, that notwithstanding all that had been hitherto done to smooth the way for this final, *suicidal* step; yet, out of the numerous hosts of bishops and abbots then in Ireland, *only fifteen* could be found to take part in the measure! The fifteen assemble, pass the fatal decree, and despatch the ardent Malachy, at his own earnest solicitation, to make humble suit for the last pageant-rag of Papal thralldom. Malachy missed the Pope in France, and died of a fever at Clairvaux, on his way to Rome; leaving his dear work still unfinished, and poor Gelasius to sigh and pine, four long years more, for "*the plenitude of (Roman) honour!*" However, in the year 1152, his longing desires are *more* than consummated. That year, for ever to be remembered in the annals of Ireland, no less a personage than a Roman Cardinal, Paparo by name, arrives at Armagh. A General Council is convoked, and meets at Kells on the ninth of March. *Twenty-one bishops only* present themselves in person or proxy; and, to the great gratification of all present, (except Gelasius, I suppose), instead of *one, four glittering gew-gaws* are *solemnly* conferred on four prelates, Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam,—the first still retaining the primacy. Thus the work of revolution was completed; and the Irish Church, after a thousand years of independence and freedom, was enslaved!

But the *consummation* was not yet. As I before said, there was more than *one* party more to be yet satisfied. *No golden streams yet flowed from Ireland into the Papal coffers.* This was the main *desideratum* at Rome; and, till this *sad* want was supplied, all else that was done was nothing: the intrigue and agitation of a hundred years was nothing; the reception of the Roman religion was nothing; union was nothing; bowing the neck, and wearing the Papal *livery*, were nothing. But to accomplish this, some more *potent* apostle, and *sturdy* missionary, than a mere Cardinal legate, or young Irish admirer, however gifted, or however ardent, must be sought out and commissioned. And, haply for the *desiderating* Pontiff, such a *missionary!* soon offers himself in the person of the *virtuous* and *pious* Henry II. of England. Whether this able and politic prince had been already admitted into the *secret* of the *heads* of the faction, may be a *little* difficult positively to determine,

but certain it is, that as early, if not before, his accession to the throne, he had conceived designs against Ireland of a somewhat kindred nature with those of his holiness ! at Rome. (*) The respective parties, therefore, being thus admirably adapted to each other, John of Salisbury, then chaplain to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, is not long in bringing them to be acquainted with each other. *Mutual interest* soon binds them into a solemn compact and *holy alliance* ! and, accordingly, one of the greatest monarchs of his day is ordained and consecrated by a Papal Bull, at Rome, A. D. 1155 ! as *head apostle* of the (Romish) Church militant to the Irish Church and nation ! In short, and in plain language, scarcely had three years elapsed from the hypocritical synod of Kells, and scarcely had Paparo returned and resumed his seat in the *holy conclave*, when a Bull is issued under the hand and seal of his Holiness, Adrian IV., an Englishman, making over to Henry II. the kingdom of Ireland, and granting him permission to take possession of the country, "*for the purpose*" (in the words of Dr. Lanigan) "*of extending the boundaries of the Church, of announcing to unlearned and rude people the truth of the Christian faith, and extirpating the weeds of vices from the field of the Lord.*" (a) The Bull, (in the words of Mr. Moore), "*was accompanied by a stipulation for the payment to St. Peter of a penny annually from every house in Ireland ; this being the price for which the independence of the Irish people was thus bartered away. Together with the Bull, containing the grant and stipulation, was sent also to Henry a gold ring*" (of course, blessed by his holiness !) "*adorned with a valuable emerald, as a token of his investiture with the right to rule over Ireland ; and this ring, we are informed by the bearer of it, John of Salisbury, was, by Adrian's orders, deposited in the public archives.*" (†) (26)

Nor was this all : it was not a solitary act towards Ireland, into which the *Holy Roman Church* ! was betrayed, at a moment, when the passion of avarice was strong, and there was no thought of the oceans of innocent

* It appears pretty certain, that the English kings, from the time of the conquest, entertained designs against Ireland. "*Cambrensis,*" says Hanmer, "*in his Itinerarie, reporteth how that king William (Rufus), standing upon some high rocks in the furthest part of Wales, beheld Ireland, and said, 'I will have the ships of my kingdom brought hither, wherewith I will make a bridge to invade Ireland.'*" Murchardt, king of Leinster, heard thereof ; and, after he had paused awhile, asked the reporter, '*Hath the king, in that his great threatening, inserted these words, if it please God ?*' '*No.*' '*Then,*' said he, '*seeing this king putteth his trust only in man, and not in God, we feare not his coming.*'"—(*Hanmer's Chronicle.*) Yet this is the nation against whose religion they were exciting, even at that time, so great a clamour !

a *Lanigan*, vol. 4. p. 150.

† *History of Ireland*, by T. Moore, Esq. vol. 2. p. 204. For the whole Bull in English see Appendix.

blood it would be the occasion of shedding. No: seventeen years after, while the holy crusade was yet raging in Ireland, and the people were wallowing in blood, the same cruel "*grant*" and wicked "*stipulation*" of the *holy conclave*! were renewed and confirmed, in another Bull, under the hand and seal of Alexander III., Adrian's next successor! And thus was at length consummated the diabolical drama of more than a hundred years' secret plotting, *pious* intrigue, *saintly* agitation and clamour, and violent and iniquitous *reform*. I need not say with what eager haste, devoted zeal and faithfulness, the hungry hosts of Rome's *armed missionaries*, which were now poured in upon Ireland over the British Channel, discharged the duties of their *sacred apostolic commission*: I need not say what scenes of blood and carnage followed; and what just cause was but too soon given to the Irish Church and nation at length to awaken to their strong delusion, and sorely and bitterly to repent their heedless tampering with Papal legates, their first disastrous correspondence with Lanfranc and Anselm and their successors, and their recent, new-fangled, infatuate fondness for Roman *fashions* and Roman connection!

The warrior heralds of the Roman religion had no sooner established themselves in the country at the sword's point, than Henry,—of course faithful to his hypocritical "*compact*,"—assembles the never-to-be-forgotten Council of Cashel (A. D. 1172), and completes the so-called *reformation*. In that council, says Geraldus Cambrensis, (a friend and follower of Henry, and one of the *clamouring faction*), "*The enormities and filthy practices of that land and nation, being summed up, and publicly heard, and set down in writing, under the seal, and by the industry of Christian of Lismore, THEN LEGATE, (b) very many holy constitutions were put forth by Henry, * * * who left nothing undone to reduce the state of that Church, in every way, to the form of the Church of England.*" The last of these goodly constitutions, which is the only one worth mentioning, was this notable one: "*Item, THAT ALL DIVINE OFFICES (omnia divina, all things connected with religion) BE HENCEFORTH REGULATED, IN ALL PARTS OF THE IRISH CHURCH, AFTER THE PATTERN OF HOLY CHURCH, ACCORDING AS IT IS DONE IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;*" *the already but too Popish Church of England.* (27)

I have done, reader. Thus it was that Popery was first introduced into, and finally propagated in, Ireland. No doubt, it took some time to

^b He was one of those devoted followers of Malachy who were left at Clairvaux, for the purpose of learning Roman monkery, and introducing it into Ireland. They had been brought back during Malachy's time, and had commenced their new system; which, with others like it, soon,—in the course of a century or so,—like locusts, over-spread all Ireland, eating up and contaminating every thing that came in their way.

carry this *regal* mandate, issued at the point of the sword, into full execution. (28) But, waiving this,—thus it was, that round the necks of a long reluctant, but now oppressed, people, was *riveted* the yoke of the man of sin; and with it, whatever of superstition and corruption they had hitherto resisted and escaped. And thus, in fine, it was that,—when at length the sword had fully accomplished its own share in the wicked plot; when the ravenous wolves had at length got full possession and mastery of God's ancient fold, and the pilling and fleecing of the poor forlorn flock had commenced, and the golden treasures at length began to flow into the all-devouring coffers of the Roman chancery,—then, but then only, it was, that the foreign *heads* of the faction, having at length attained their long-wished-for, *badly sought, ultimatum*, at last sat down to sing their insolent and domineering *pæans*; leaving the domestic *tails*,—kings, and bishops, and clergy, and people,—*thenceforth* to rue the dismal consequences of their unfaithfulness to the sacred trust of their pious forefathers, AND TO REAP, IN NATIONAL SUFFERING TO THIS DAY, THE DOLEFUL FRUITS OF THE WITHERING BLIGHT OF ROMAN CONTACT! Yes! reader, it is but a natural consequence: it is but the meet issue of that apostacy: it is the finger of an angry God! What? when one sees those very personages who had been so long the chief, though blinded, *agents at home*, in the revolutionizing process,—those, who, yesterday or the day before, were the honoured successors of Patrick, and Columkill, and Columbanus, and Finan, and Colman, men who would not so much as eat under the same roof with a follower of the Papal religion,—when one sees, I say, those very successors, the day after, scorning the simplicity of the religion of their sainted fathers, gloating after Rome's glittering and tawdry novelties, and fretting and pining for the bauble-badge of Rome's antichristian subjection; and *then*,—the moment almost that they had disdainfully changed their ancient and venerable position, and proudly arrayed themselves in their new gorgeous *livery* of Papal dependance,—that very day, as it were, *brought*,—and poor aged Gelasius among the number,—*to bow* in their fond pageant-rags at the feet of Rome's warrior-apostles,—the valiant Strongbows, and Raymonds, and Geraldines, and Fitzes, and de Courceys, and de Lacys, and de Cogans,—tamely to submit to their *unsparing* will, and suppliantly to take the law *civil*, as well as ecclesiastic, at the points of their reeking swords;—yes! when one sees all this, I say, how can he shut his eyes to the fact of its being *judicial*? How can he help feeling and exclaiming, Oh! what a piteous, yet just and well-deserved, *retribution*? And when one follows up the thread of the nation's history thence onward to the present day; and sees the the same *infatuation* continuing onward in the great bulk of the nation, and the same national

misery accompanying it,—the same uneasiness, the same discomfort and fretfulness, the same discontent and self-wrought wretchedness,—notwithstanding all that a *now* really good and *over-paternal* government can do to soften the nation's prejudices, and ameliorate their condition;—again, how can he say that it is otherwise than *judicial*? Yes, *there is* indeed! a cause; and the self-imposed infliction of judgment will assuredly continue as long as the cause continues: will continue,—till the nation, as an entire people, at length awoken to their strong delusion; at length shake off the polluted rags of the great Usurper of Christ's place in the Church; at length retrace their once too hasty and erring steps, and resume their former ancient faith and ecclesiastical position!

I have now but one thing in conclusion to entreat of the reader: he will see, as well by the *quantity* as the *quality* of the materials brought together in the preceding pages, that my object was not to make a book, or to compass any thing selfish. Well, then,—if the little effort will be thought fitted, in any measure, to contribute to the enlightenment of the public on this very important subject,—all I ask in return from every reader, into whose hands this little book may come,—probably when its author shall be no more,—is, that for Christ's sake, and in Christ's name, he determine with himself never to withhold his hand from, but always to contribute, what in his power lies, to, every Christian effort that is made to enlighten my beloved countrymen; to break, under God's hand, "the strong delusion" under which they are suffering; to rescue them from the hard grasp of the great ecclesiastical enslaver, and restore them to the faith and hope of their fathers. England, let the reader remember, has greatly and *wantonly* sinned against her unoffending sister isle, and laid upon her a sore and heavy burden; and it is the bounden duty of every Englishman,—who himself values a free, *un-Romanized*, and primitive Church,—his duty, not on grounds of religion and conscience merely, but even on grounds of common generosity also, now, at length, to do what in his power lies, under God's grace, to wipe out the sin, and remove the burden.

APPENDIX.

NOTES, WITH DOCUMENTS IN THE ORIGINAL.

FIRST PART.

(1) PORPHYRY (born A. D. 233) is the first writer in whose pages the *Scotica gentes*, "the Scottish tribes," are mentioned, as the inhabitants of the Britannic world. From that time, Scotia occurs as the proper name of Hibernia. Claudian (A. D. 395) says, "When the Scots put all Ireland in motion (against the Romans), then, over heaps of Scots the icy Ierne wept." And says Orosius, in the same age, "Hibernia is inhabited by the Scottish nations."—*Lib. l. c. 20.* Scotia eadem et Hibernia; "Scotia and Ireland are the same country."—*Isidore, L. 12. c. 6.* Hibernia propria Scotorum est patria; "Ireland is properly the country of the Scots," says Bede; (*L. l. c. 1.*); the word *propria* being used by him to distinguish them from the Scots then settled in Albania. These are but a few out of innumerable such proofs, collected by Usher, Camden, &c., and from them by Chalmers (George); who, though himself a Scotchman, often laughs at the ignorance or conceit of his countrymen, in pretending to the honour of this ancient appellation. "The Scots," says he, "from their own language, acquired the appellation of *Scelte*; which signifies, *dispersed, scattered*; and they thus appear to have obtained this characteristic name, from their passion for enterprise, during ages of perturbation. * * Ancient Scotland was undoubtedly *an island*, whatever theorists may have thought: and ancient Scotland was certainly not a distinct island from Ireland, whatever chroniclers may have said."—*Caledonia, B. ii. c. 6.*

(2) See Dupin, cent. 5; under the articles, Pelagius and Celestius.

(3) The epithets, Scotus, Scotigena, Scotus Hiberniensis, are decisive proofs of the native country of this distinguished divine and poet. And so also is the name *Sedulius*; a name quite common in Ireland; and of which, as Dr. Lanigan has remarked, no instance can be traced of old time in any other country. In the Irish Church, two writers of the name were particularly eminent; namely, the Sedulius now mentioned, and Sedulius, Abbot of Kildare, in the ninth century: and that this latter Sedulius was the author of "the Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul," is the belief of the most eminent antiquarians; as Labbe, Mabillon, Bayle, Dr. Lanigan, &c. If so, it is obvious, that the argument afforded by these commentaries for the doctrinal purity of the Irish Church, is of a far more interesting character. "There is extant also a *Collectaneum Sedulii in Matthæum*, which indeed cannot be attributed to the poet; whereas, to omit other observations of Labbe's, the poet himself is quoted in it. In the *Bibliotheca Patrum, Lyons, 1677, tom. 6*, it is stated, that the author of the Commentary on St. Paul seems to have been the Sedulius of the year 818."—*Dr. Lanigan, Ecclesiast. Hist. of Ireland, vol. 1. p. 20.*

(4) These doubts were first raised by such writers as *Reeves, Maurice, and Ledwich*, on the alleged grounds stated in the text: the *foolish* object of those writers being, to overthrow the pretensions of Rome to the mission of Patrick. How absurd! As if it were of any consequence whence St. Patrick derived his commission,—except as a mere matter of historic truth. I suppose the Church of Rome, *at that time*, was as capable of giving a valid commission as any other Church in the world. It will be seen, by a perusal of this and the following chapters, that St. Patrick did not come from Rome. Still, *this* is not the question. The only question is, What was St. Patrick's religion? And to this question the reader will soon have, from St. Patrick himself, a positive and decided answer.

(5) The following may serve as a sample of such miracles:—

1. When his mother Conchessa was pregnant of him, poison was administered to her; but it was found, at his birth, converted into a stone; which he was holding between his fingers. The stone also, upon which he was laid when born, partaking of his sanctity, possessed many wonder-working powers, especially that of detecting perjury.

2. When his aunt wanted a faggot to renew the fire, the child converted into dry wood some ice, which he had brought home in his bosom.

3. When the cruel Lord of *Dunbarton* confined his aunt, and employed her to cleanse the stalls and stables of his castle, the child, (Patrick), performed the task for her *miraculously*. And ever since, says Joceline, the dung continues to be cleared away, *invisibly*; inso-much, that if all the cattle of the country were driven into the stables, no dirt could be found after them.

4. As the saint was setting sail for Ireland, from a British port, a poor leper on the shore besought a passage from the mariners; but in vain. Patrick, however, pitying his case, and *having no other way to relieve him*, flung into the sea a stone-altar, which had been consecrated and given him *by the Pope*; and he commanded the leper to sit thereon:—when, lo! to the great amazement of all the beholders, the stone began to float, kept pace with the ship, and arrived with full sail in the Irish harbour, at the same moment with it.

5. A man called Gormas, blind from his mother's womb, took, in consequence of a divine command in his sleep, the infant saint's hand, immediately after his baptism, and made the sign of the cross with it upon the ground; when instantly a fountain of water sprang up in the place touched, which, like another Siloam, not only gave the blind man the power of vision, but also enabled him to read and understand the Scriptures!

6. But the most wonderful of all,—if we except the raising of many to life, who had been long dead,—was, that while traversing Ireland, the saint sent packing off to Cruchan-Aichle, (a high conical mountain on the western coast, now called Croagh-Patrick), all the tribes of serpents, and venomous creatures of every name and kind, from every part of the country, there to wait his pleasure. Whither when he came, and ascended the mountain, innumerable demons flocked screaming around him, in the form of unsightly birds: upon which the saint, in a very great choler, of course, (like Malachy), drove them,—serpents, toads, demons, and all,—into the ocean, at the foot of the mountain. And hence it is, (say they), that Ireland has never, from that day to this,

been infested with the presence of any poisonous creatures:—except, I suppose, the noxious fabricators and venders of such lying legends. “Jocelin,” says Dr. Lanigan, “was the inventor of this story;” and the doctor seems to regret, “that from *Jocelin's book*, the story made its way into some BREVUARIES,” (*Lanigan*, vol. i. p. 252), as innumerable such like stories have.

I need only add, for the reader's information, that the exemption of Ireland from poisonous animals, was noticed by Solinus, some hundred years before St. Patrick was born; and before what is now called a Breviary was thought of.

(6) The passage occurs in his epistle to Coroticus, a British pirate, who had made a descent upon Ireland, and carried off many of St. Patrick's disciples. The whole passage is as follows:—

“Patricius, peccator, indoctus scilicet, *Hiberione* constitutum *episcopum* me esse fateor. Certissime a Deo accepi id quod sum. Inter barbaros itaque habito, proselytus et profuga ob amorem Dei,” “Here,” says Dr. (W.) Hales, “Patrick expressly asserts, that he was ordained Bishop in Ireland (*Hiberione*), not for Ireland (*Hiberoni*); and ascribes his mission, or apostolate, to God only, not to the Pope.”

(7) and (8) Ego Patricius, peccator, * * patrem habui Calpurnium, *diaconum*, *filium* quondam Potiti, *presbyteri*, qui fuit in vico Bonaven Tabernæ: villulam enim (Enon) prope habuit, ubi ego in capturam decidi. Fiech says, that St. Patrick was born at *Nemphthur*; that his first name, among his own tribes, was *Succat*; and that he was called *Ceathraighe* (i. e. of four), because, in his captivity, he served four masters.

Nemphthur signifies in *Irish*, the *lusty*, or *heavenly rock*; and was the same as *Alcluid*, i. e. *the rock* (*al*, in the British) of *Cluid* or *Clyde*, near the present *Dunbarton*. (*Scholias on Fiech's Hymn*.) All which comes near enough to Patrick's own statement in the Confession. *Alcluid* was the capital of Roman North Britain, and, therefore, would, by the Irish, be called the birth-place of St. Patrick; though, properly speaking, he might have been born at some distance from the capital. Dr. Lanigan wastes much learning and much ingenuity, to make it out, that *Bonaven Tabernæ* was the same as the present *Boulougue sur mer*, in France, anciently called *Bononia*.

(9) This is one among many other proofs, some of which will be seen in the sequel, that the Irish had a *Liturgy* of their own, called *Cursus Scotorum*, till it was forcibly supplanted by Henry II. of England, to make way for that of Rome, A. D. 1172.—See below, note 15.

(10) Sed hoc potius mihi bene fuit: quia ex hoc emendatus sum a domino; et aptavit me ut hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me erat: (nempe), ut ego curas haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum, quando etiam de meipso, non cogitabam.—*Confess.* §. 12.

(11) Besides the case of the pretended guardian angel, referred to in the chapter, some venturous advocates of Romanism grasp at another passage in “The Confession,” as a proof that St. Patrick invoked the prophet Elias. The case was this: St. Patrick, while making his escape from Ireland, partook, one day in his hunger, plentifully of swine's flesh; and that same night he was oppressed with a night-mare; which he thus describes:

"The same night, while I slept, I was so strongly tempted by Satan, that I shall remember it as long as I am in this body. A huge rock, as it were, fell upon me; and I felt utterly powerless in my limbs. But whence it came into my mind to cry out, *Elias!* I know not: and, in the mean time, I saw the sun arise; and while I was calling, *Elias! Elias!* lo! the sun shone upon me brightly, and immediately dissipated the entire weight from me."—*Confession*, §. 9. Does this passage prove that St. Patrick was accustomed to invoke *Elias*, or *any* departed spirit? If so, why does he apologise for such a strange and odd act in his sleep? Why does he say, "*Whence it came into my head I know not?*" Unde mihi venit, ignoro, in spiritum, at *Elia*! vocarem. I need not say, that the inference afforded by the passage is obviously the *very reverse* of that drawn by the Romanist. It appeared a *strange and odd* thing to St. Patrick, to do that *in his sleep*, which he never *did*, nor *thought* of doing, when *awake*.

(13) St. Patrick, as I have stated, wrote the *Confession* shortly before his death: its very last words are, "And this is my confession *before I die*." Yet he speaks of the hardships and persecutions which his disciples of every rank, even the slaves, were still suffering; and of their fortitude and perseverance under them; and how their number was increasing notwithstanding. §. 18. And he says of himself, that he had been twelve times on the point of having his life taken from him; and that still he was expecting,—nay, *hoping*,—to be *killed*, or *trepanned*, or *reduced to slavery*; though he gave no occasion to any one. "But," adds he, "I fear none of these things, because of the Heavenly promises: for I have cast myself into the hands of that omnipotent God, who is Lord every where: as saith the prophet, 'Cast thy burden upon God, HE will sustain thee.'" (*Ps.* lv. 22; *1 Peter* v. 7.—§. 23.)

(15) This catalogue is given at full length by Usher (*Antiquities*, c. 17); but, except the names, I have given the pith of it in the text. It is obvious that the words, "Having *Christ* as their *alone* head, and *Patrick* as their *alone* leader," and, "because being founded on *Christ* ~~THE~~ rock," are meant by the author as a *pointed contrast* to, and implicit protest against, the rising pretensions of the Papacy, *at the time the author lived*. The reader will observe, too, that from the time of "*the second class*," which extended to A. D. 603, the Irish had *two distinct liturgies*, at least: *some*, following *that* of Patrick (*see* c. 2); and *others*, *that* of the old British Church. And so the practice continued in the Irish Church,—without any schism, or breach of harmony, arising therefrom,—till the twelfth century:—when, at length, an *interested* outcry was raised against it by the *Romanizing faction*, and both liturgies were finally suppressed, at the point of the sword, in order to make way for the *Roman Mass book!* (*see* c. 8, *Part 2*.) Observe, too, that it was in the time of the *third class* commenced a difference with regard to the time of celebrating Easter (*c.* 7. *Part 2*); *some* keeping still to the old Irish rule of observing Easter on the first *Sunday* (not on any other day) that occurred from the fourteenth to the twentieth day (both included) of the first moon after the vernal equinox; and *others* observing it, (according to the decree of the Council of Nice, held A. D. 325), on the first Sunday from the sixteenth to the twenty-second: and *this*, together with the following of a different cycle by both parties, made a difference of nearly a month, at the time the disputes were raised upon the subject in Britain and

Ireland. For the *crafty* use Rome made of this difference, see foot note n, c. 7, Part 2.

(16) In the national convention at *Drumcass* (in the county of Derry), held A. D. 590, Columba (Columkill) had a seat as *chief* of his Irish establishments, and repaired from Iona to attend it. So had also the other *heads* of clerical bodies in Ireland; and they attended in like manner.—See *Lanigan*, vol. 2, pp. 236—9.

(17) Though the name *Culdee* does not occur in any author before the year 800; yet, that the *thing* signified by the name existed in Ireland, long before the time of St. Patrick, is admitted by Dr. O'Connor. There is some difference of opinion as to the origin of the name. Toland says it is derived from *Ceili da*, that is, "*the separated, or espoused of God*;" namely, the clergy. But the more general, and I think the *true*, opinion is, that the original word was *Ceile de*, that is, "*servants of God*;" (a) namely, those who kept up *God's service* in the churches, (*chl*, or *kil*, as it is pronounced, and now more commonly spelled), choirs, cathedrals, &c.; but who, in the lapse of time, formed themselves into a distinct order, similar to, and performing the functions of, that which is now called *secular canons*. The name was first latinized into *Keledeus*, in Irish documents, (where it is first met with), and, subsequently, into *Colideus*; whence, in English, *Culdees*. "This form of religious establishment," says Chalmers, "seems to have existed among the Picts and Scots, even from the age and example of Columba." That they were Presbyterians, in the modern sense of the word, is a modern *dream*, or an *arrant fable*.—(See Lloyd's Church Government). "System," says Chalmers, "has concurred with ignorance, in supposing that the Culdees were peculiar to the united kingdom of the Picts and Scots; and *actually possessed rights, and exercised powers, which were inconsistent with the universal laws of the Church in that age*. A retrospective view of ecclesiastical history, from the epoch of the introduction of Christianity into North Britain, would shew, to a discerning eye, that the doctrines, liturgical forms, and the monkish discipline of the British, the Irish, the Scots, and the Picts, were extremely similar; as all those people were indeed congenerous."—*Caledonia*, Book 3, c. 8. And so it continued in North Britain, till the *reforming* hands of Malcolm III. and his queen consort, Margaret, (*an English princess*), and of their sons, Alexander I. and David I., were successively laid upon them; and they *were worn down by gradual hardships and persecutions*, during the same period that the Irish Church was undergoing a similar *revolution*. (see c. 8, Part 2). "We shall see, in our progress," says Chalmers, "the Scotican Church undergo the *greatest changes*, during the successive reigns of the *more intelligent* sons of Malcolm and Margaret." (*Ib.*) The Culdees gradually fell a sacrifice to the Moloch of superstition; but it was upon the altar of their ancient faith!—For further particulars, see Chalmers.

(18) The patron saints of very many cities and towns on the continent, are Irish to this day.—See note (20).

(19) The intrigue of the Canterbury party having at length prevailed at the court of Oswy, the Northumbrian king, (whose queen and

^a In the Gaelic, *Ceile* signifies, a servant: hence, *Ceile de*, the servants of God; *de*, being the genitive of *Dia*, God."—*Chalmers's Caledonia*, Book iii. p. 434. He adds, "that the name of *Cuideach* is commonly given, to this day, to persons who are not fond of society."

son, Alcfred, were both of that party), Bishop Colman,—after a *mock* conference with Wilfrid, in which the king declared the victory to be on the side of the latter,—resigned his charge, and withdrew to Ireland, rather than conform to the Roman usages.—*Bede*, L. iii. c. 25—6. (See c. 7, and note *n* there).

(20) For instance, St. Gall, Leuxeul, Fontaines, St. Die, Breuil, Bobio, Lure, &c. The historiographer, Mezeray, mentions, with astonishment, the vast numbers of the Irish who, from their own country, and from Britain, repaired to the continent, to instruct and convert its then rude and barbarous tribes; and he proclaims, in grateful language, the new face which his own country, France, soon assumed under the labour of their hands. "It must be acknowledged," he says, "that these crowds of holy men were highly useful to France, considered merely in a temporal light. For the long incursions of the barbarians having quite desolated the country, it was still, in many places, covered with woods and thickets, and the low grounds with marshes. But those pious men, having devoted themselves, not to a life of indolence, but to the service of God, laboured with their own hands to grub up, to reclaim, to till, to plant, and to build; * * * insomuch, that uncultivated and frightful deserts soon became agreeable and fruitful dwellings. I shall say nothing," he adds, "of their having preserved to us almost all that remains to us of the history of those times." (*Histoire de la France*, tom. i. p. 117.) And the same might be said of many parts of Italy and Germany.

(21) The two passages quoted from St. Bernard are too important not to be given here in the original:—

Hos, inquit, interim pro me, oro, ut retineatis, qui a vobis discant quod nos postmodum doceant. Et infert: Erunt nobis in semen, et in semine isto benedicentur gentes, et illæ gentes, quæ a diebus antiquis monachi quidem nomen audierunt, monachum non viderunt.—*Bernard. Vit. Malach.* c. 16.

Et quoniam multa adhuc opus est vigilantia, tanquam in *novo loco*, et in terra jam insueta, immo et in experta monasticæ religionis: obsecramus in domino ne retrahatis manum vesram, sed quod bene incepistis, optime perficiatis.—*Bernard. Epist. 3, ad Malach.*

(22) In a passage too long to be quoted at full length, Bonaventura Moronus, a Tarentine, has described the multitudes of foreign students that flocked from every part of Europe to the famous school at Lismore, where Cataldus, the apostle and patron saint of Tarentum, had been educated. He says,—

Undique conveniunt procures quos dulce trahebat
Discendi studium.
Certatim hi properant diverso tramite ad urbem
Lismoriam, juvenis primos ubi transigit annos.

And of *Sulgen*, who was Bishop of Menevia (St. David's), A. D. 1070, his son, *John*, writes thus,—

*Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad Hibernos Sophia, mirabile! claros;
His ita digestis, Scotorum visitat arva.
Ac mox scripturas multo meditamine sacras,
Legis divine scrutatur sæpe retractans.
Congregat immensam pretioso pondere massam.*

Post hæc ad patriam remeans jam dogmæ clarus
 Venit, et inventum multis jam dividit aurum,
 Proficiens cunctis discentibus undique circum;
 Reges, quem populi, cleri, cunctique coloni,
 Omnes unanimes venerantur mente serena.

Hence we see, 1^o That Ireland was still the only country known by the name of *Scotia*; 2^o That, though Ireland had suffered so much from the ravages of the Danes, yet literature, and theology, and the sciences, still flourished there, even in the eleventh century. Yet this was the very time that the *Romanizing faction, both at home and at CANTERBURY*, were raising their loudest outcries against the religion of the Irish Church. (See c. 8, near the beginning).

(23) Quos omnes *Scoti* libentissime suscipientes, victum iis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum præbere eurabant.—*Bede*, L. iii. c. 27.

(24) [The religion of relics, c. 5, near the end.] Dr. Lanigan indeed speaks often of the relics of St. Patrick at Armagh, and of the custom of swearing by them; but he has *carefully* neglected to tell his readers *what* those relics were. The truth is, they were the *text* of the Gospels, copied by St. Patrick, and his celebrated staff or crosier. In the original, they are called the *oaths* of St. Patrick, from the custom of swearing on the Gospels, &c. So it is that the Doctor talks of "the reliques of St. Bridgid, and Conlæth, and Columkill; and of the number of reliques of various saints, preserved from very old times," (a very *equivocal* phrase!) "at the church of Armagh." But all the authority he can give us for the latter is a *legendary life*! and, while for Conlæth he has forgotten to record, that it was not till almost three hundred years after his death, that his poor bones were rooted up and enshrined, as the phrase is; (see *Ware's Bishops of Kildare*; also *Harris*); strange to say, for the *miraculous* discovery of the bones of St. Patrick, Columkill, and Bridgid, he gives us the following true relation. He tells us, that, (A. D. 1186), it being generally believed that the bodies of the three saints were in Down, Malachy III., its bishop, used to pray frequently to God, that he would vouchsafe to point out to him the particular places in which they were concealed. While, on a certain night, fervently praying to this effect in the church of Down, he saw a bright light, like a sunbeam, traversing the church, which stopped at the spot where the bodies were!!! Immediately, procuring the necessary implements, he dug in that spot, and found the bones of the three bodies; which he then put into distinct boxes or coffins, and placed again under ground." Messengers are despatched to the Pope by the Bishop and the *pious* John de Courcey; "and Cardinal Vivian, *who was well acquainted with the said John, and the Bishop, Malachy*," (b) posts, all haste, to Ireland; and the solemnities of translation are celebrated by the Cardinal, in presence of de Courcey; who was, at that very time, burning the old Irish Churches in that very district, and deluging Ulster with blood.—*Lanigan*, vol. 4, p. 274, from

ð Vivian had been in Ireland a short time before, having come there to forward the designs of Henry II.; and, in a council held in Dublin, he laid all under anathema who refused to obey Henry, and gave permission to the invaders to take whatever provisions they wanted out of the churches, into which the Irish were wont to convey them for security.—*Lanigan*, vol. 4, p. 233. What a brother Cardinal has let drop with regard to this visit of Vivian to Ireland, is eminently worthy of the reader's notice. Baronius * says of him: "*He thirsted much for Irish gold, but he came away less loaded with it than he expected.*" Auro Hibernico, quod multum sitierat, minus onustus in Scotiam remeavit. Baronius, at A. 1183.

Geraldus Cambrensis, who was in Ireland at that time. The reader will form his own judgment of this *pious fraud* of the new *Romano-Irish* bishop, and the plundering-apostle, de Courcey.

Three years before this diabolical fraud, de Courcey had expelled the old secular canons (Culdees) of the cathedral of this very diocese of Down, and supplied their place by priests of his own from Chester. (*Ware's Annals*). And this is but a specimen of what was now going on in all parts of the pale. It was at this very time, and at the solicitation of this very de Courcey, that Joceline brought out his heap of legends and lies, called the Life of St. Patrick.

(24, continued) They are consecrated; but it is to the TRINITY ONLY.] "And at the same time," says Ware, (the time stated in preceding note), "by the persuasion of the same de Courcey, that cathedral (of Down), though BEFORE dedicated to THE BLESSED TRINITY, was now dedicated to St. Patrick; which many believed, says Pembridge, in his annals, was the cause of all the calamities which afterwards fell upon de Courcey." (*Ware's Annals*, Henry II. c. 17.) So rabid a reformer was de Courcey! "Many believed." This, I think, plainly shews what the Irish people, even of that age, thought of such an act.

For North Britain, many instances may be collected from Chalmers's Caledonia: as, for example, "The monastery of Dumfermlin was dedicated, like the other Culdean establishments, to THE HOLY TRINITY." Again, "A Culdean church was here (at Scone) dedicated in the earliest times, to THE HOLY TRINITY, like other Culdean monasteries." And so on.—See his *Caledonia*, Book iii. c. 8.

With their honest wooden tables.] The following will suffice on this head. Of the constitutions and canons made by John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, and confirmed by Pope Urban III., A.D. 1186, the first canon "prohibits priests from celebrating mass on WOODEN TABLES, according to the usage of Ireland; and enjoins, that in all monasteries and baptismal churches, altars should be made of stone; and if a stone of sufficient size to cover the whole surface of the altar cannot be had; that, in such a case, a square entire polished stone be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated, and of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses, and the foot of the largest chalice. But in chapels, chantries, and oratories, if they are necessarily obliged to use wooden altars, let the mass be celebrated on plates of stone, of the before-mentioned size, firmly fixed in the wood."—(*Ware's Bishops*, by Harris, Dublin; article, *Comyn*.)

SECOND PART.

(1) In tempore quidem summæ festivitatis dubios circulos sequentes, utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positus nemo synodalia Paschalis observantiæ decreta porrexerat, tantum ea quæ in Propheticiis, Evangelicis, et Apostolicis literis discere poterant, pietatis et charitatis (al. castitatis) opera diligenter observantes. (*Bed. Eccles. Hist. L. iii. c. 4.*)

Didicimus, nil ex omnibus quæ in Evangelicis sive Apostolicis, sive Propheticiis literis facienda cognoverat (eum) prætermittere; sed cuncta, pro suis viribus, opera explorare curabat. (*Ibid. c. 17, not c. 14, which is an erratum in my text.*)

(2) Scrutamini legem in qua voluntas ejus continetur. (*Sedul. in Ephes. c. 5.*) Plus vult sapere qui illa scrutatur quæ lex, non dicit. (*Id. in Rom. c. 12.*) Hoc, quia de scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur. (*Claud. in Matth. Lib. 3*) Propterea errant, quia scripturas nesciunt: et quia scripturas ignorant, consequenter nesciunt virtutem Dei, hoc est, Christum, qui est Dei virtus, et dei sapientia. (*Id. ib.*)

(3) Nam illi (Hieronymo) per omnia undubitatum fidem in scripturis divinis accommodant fidem. (*Columban. Epist. ad S. Gregor. Papam.*)

Hi sunt enim nostri canones, dominica et apostolica mandata: in (hæc) fides nostra: hæc arma, scutum et gladium: hæc apologia: hæc nos moverunt de patria: hæc et heic (hic) servare contendimus, licet tepide; in his usque ad mortem perseverare, et oramus, et optamus, sicut et seniores nostros facere conspeximus. (*Columban. Epist. ad patres Synodi Cujusdam Gallicanæ, super quæstione Paschæ congregatæ.*)

That the Irish Church excluded the *Apocrypha* from the rank of divine scripture, is proved by the following testimonies. *First*, the author of the book, *De mirabilibus Scripturæ*, ("of the Wonders of Scripture,") who wrote in the seventh century, (A. D. 657), expressly excludes the books of the Maccabees, on the ground of their not being reckoned in the divine canon.—*Lib. ii. c. 34.* Moreover, he calls the story of Bel and the Dragon *a fable*, and excludes it from his account, "because they have not the authority of scripture." Quod in auctoritate divinæ scripturæ non habentur. *Next*, Marianus *Scotus*, writing in the eleventh century, says, in his chronicle, at the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, (A. D. 466), "Hetherto, the *divine* scripture of the Hebrews containeth the order of times. But those things that after this were done among the Jews, are represented out of the books of the Maccabees, and the writings of Josephus, and Africanus:" thus plainly excluding books of the Maccabees from the canon of scripture.

(4) Sola enim gratia redemptos discernit a perditis. * * * Videt enim universum genus humanum tam justo judicio in apostatico radice damnatum; ut etiamsi nullus inde liberaretur, nemo recte posset dei vituperare justiciam. Et qui liberantur, sic oportuisse liberari, ut ex pluribus non liberatis, atque damnatione justissima derelictis, ostenderetur quid meruisset universa conspersio: quod etiam justos debitam

judicium Dei damnaret, nisi in ejus debitum misericordia subveniret; ut volentium de suis meritis gloriari omne os obstruatur: et qui gloriatur, in domino gloriatur. (*Sedul. in Rom. c. 9.*)

(5) Nam libero arbitrio male utens homo, et se perditit et ipsum. *
* * Ita cum libero arbitrio peccaretur, victore peccato, amissum est et liberum arbitrium. * * (*Sedul. in Rom. c. 9.*)

(6) Deus author est omnium bonorum; hoc est, et naturæ bonæ et voluntatis bonæ; quam nisi Deus in illo operatur, non facit homo, quia præparatur voluntas a Domino in homine bona; ut faciat, Deo donante, quod a seipso facere non poterat per liberi arbitrii voluntatem. (*Claud. Scot. L. 1. in Matth.*)

(7) Non ergo lex data est, ut peccatum auferret; sed ut sub peccato omnia concluderet, * * * ut hoc modo humiliati cognoscerent, non in sua manu esse salutem suam, sed in manu mediatoris. (*Sedul. in Gal. c. 3.*)

(7) Veri parentes sunt qui per semen verbi generant in lucem et vitam eternam. (*Sedul. in Rom. c. 1.*) Docens per hæc, quia si quis peccato prius sit mortuus, is necessario in baptismo consepultus est Christo: si vero non ante quis moritur peccato, non potest sepeliri cum Christo: nemo enim vivens aliquando sepelitur: quod si non sepelitur cum Christo; nec legitime baptizatur. Et intueri diligentius adhuc consequentiam mystici ordinis: morere prius peccato, ut possis cum Christo sepeliri: mortuo enim sepultura debetur. Si enim vivis adhuc peccato, consepeliri non potes Christo, nec in novo ejus sepulchro collocari: quia vetus homo tuus vivit, et non potest in novitate ambulare in Christo Jesu, id est, in nomine Jesu Christi. Baptismum itaque resurrectionis pignus est et imago; et ideo per aquam celebratur: ut sicut aqua sordes abluit; ita et nos per baptismum ab omni peccato spiritaliter purgatos et innovatos credamus. (*Sedul. in Rom. c. 6*)

(8) Perfectionem legis habet qui credit in Christo. (*Sedul. in Rom. c. 10.*) Justum fuerat, ut quo modo Abraham credens ex gentibus per solam fidem justificatus est; ita cæteri fidem ejus imitantes salvarentur. (*Id. in Rom. c. 1.*)

(9) Convertentem impium per solam fidem justificat Deus, non per opera bona, quæ non habuit prius. Hoc dicit (apostolus), quia sine operibus legis credenti impio in Christum reputatur fides ejus ad justitiam, sicut Abraham. * * Et hæc fides cum justificata fuerit, tanquam radix, imbre suscepto, hæret in animæ solo; ut cum per legem Dei excoli cæperit, rursus in eam surgant rami, qui fructus operum ferant. Non ergo ex operibus radix justitiæ, sed ex radice justitiæ fructus operum, crescit: illa scilicet radice justitiæ, cui Deus acceptam fert justitiam sine operibus. (*Sedul. in Rom. c. 4.*)

(10) Per solam fidem Christi quæ per dilectunem operatur. (*Sedul. in Gal. c. 3.*)

(11) Blasphemia et stultiloquium est dicere, esse hominem sine peccato: quod omnino non potest, nisi unus mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus, qui sine peccato est conceptus et partus. (*Epist. Cler. Rom. Apud. User. Syllog.*)

To the quotations given in a former chapter from St. Patrick, the following may be added under this head:—

"Whence can I render again unto the Lord for all that HE hath done for me? What can I say, or what can I promise unto my Lord? *For I see nothing but what HE himself hath given to me.*" (*Confess.* §. 23.) And again, having declared the determination he had formed "never to leave his dear proselytes and converts," he adds, "If it be the Lord's will, and HE will keep me from every evil way, so that I sin not before HIM: as it is from Him (only) I ought to hope this; for I trust not myself as long as I am in this body of death, because he (Satan) is strong, who daily strives to subvert me from the faith, and from my purposed purity to the end in Christ my Lord. *But the flesh, which is enmity, always draws to death*; that is, to accomplish its forbidden solicitations: and I know,—in part,—*that I have not led a perfect life, no more than other believers* (c); but I confess to my Lord, and lie not, that, from my youth up, (the age of 16), so long as I have known Him, the love of God and the fear of God have grown in me; so that I have kept the faith until now, the Lord being gracious to me." (*Ibid.* §. 19.) St. Patrick, it is plain, knew nothing of human perfection, no more than the Irish Church after him.

(13) Sed breviter et omni in nuum collecta definitune dicamus: adorare alium præter Patrem et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, impletatis crimen est. (*Sedul. in Rom. c. 1.*) Non est autem una mœcha; nam totum quod debet Deo anima, si alicui præter Deum reddiderit, mœchatur. (*Ibid.*)

(13) Costodit animam, usque dum steterit ante tribunal Christi, cui refert sua prout gessarit propria. Nec archangelus potest ducere ad vitam, usque dum judicaverit eam Dominus; nec Diabolus ad ponam traducere, nisi Dominus damnaverit eam. (*Synod. Hibern. in Vet. Cod. canonum in Bibliothec. Cott. User. citante.*)

(14) Dicitur vero neminem ex laicis suam velle confessionem sacerdotibus dare: quos a Deo Christo cum sanctis apostolis ligandi solvendique potestatem accepisse credimus. (*Alcuin Epist. 26, User. citante.*) See the citations from Bernard in my closing chapter.

(15) [note c. c. 3.] Bernard states, in his life of Malachy, that, for the fifteen preceding generations, (meaning successions, it is supposed), the see of Armagh was held by hereditary possession; and in Harris's *Ware*, sons and grandsons of regular archbishops are mentioned as succeeding their fathers and grandfathers in that see. Thus, Mælmury (A. D. 1001) is called, in the Annals of the four Masters, "the Head of the clergy of the West of Europe; the Principal of all the holy orders of the West; and a most learned Doctor:" yet he was the father of Dub-dalethy III. And Amalgaid, who was elected, A. D. 1021, by the unanimous voice of the clergy and people, was the father of the Archbishops Mæliisa and Donald. Celsus, too, was the grandson of Mæliisa; and, though himself one of the Romanizing faction, yet was married, and had children; as we read in *Hanmer's Chronicle*, and in a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin; where it is said, that his marriage was "more gentis suæ."

(15) [in the the text, c 4.] Dona iniquorum reprobant altissimus: et qui offert sacrificium ex substantia pauperis, quasi qui victimat filium

c Sicut et cæteri credentes.

in conspectu patriæ. (*S. Patric. Epist. ad Corotic. §. 4.*) In the context, St. Patrick is speaking of the impropriety of accepting contributions or *alms* from the wicked.

Nos vero *commemorationem* Dominicæ semel passionis quotidie nostræque salutis offerimus. (*Sedul. in Heb. c. 10.*)

Suam memoriam nobis reliquit, quemadmodum si quis peregre proficiscens aliquod pignus ei quem diligit derelinquat; ut quotiescunque illud viderit possit ejus beneficia et amicitias recordari. *Id. in 1 Cor. c. 11.*

(16) Voluit ante discipulis suis tradere sacramentum corporis et sanguinis sui; quod significavit in fractione corporis et effusione calicis; et postea ipsum corpus immolari in ara crucis. Quia panis corpus confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne: *hic* ad corpus Christi mystice; *illud* ad sanguinem, refertur. *Claud. Scot. L. iii. in Matth. User. cit.*

- (17) Denique pontificum princeps summusque sacerdos
Quis nisi Christus adest? gemini libamnis auctor
Ordine Melchisedech; cui dantur munera semper
Quæ sua sunt, segetis fructus, et gaudia vitis.

Sedul. Carm. Paschal. L. 4.

Triticæ sementis cibus suavis, et amœnæ vitis potus amabilis. *Id. pros. L. 4, c. 14.*

Præsertim cum ex mirabilibus scripturæ Dominicæ nil præterire disposui, in quibus a ministerio quotidiano excellere in aliis videntur *Lib. 2 de Mirab. Scriptur. c. 21.*

(19) and (20) Romanists have tried their hand at this matter, but have failed to produce a single fair instance. The only case *like* an instance, that they have ever yet been able to allege, is the following rule from Columbanus. "Let not novices, because *untaught*, nor those who may be such, approach to the cup." "Nor those who may be such;" that is, "*untaught*," whether "novices" or not. Where it is presumed by the Romanist that "*the untaught*" were admitted to the bread, though not the cup. Is this a fair inference? On the contrary, is it not obvious at first sight, (1) That in Columbanus's rules, which are all worded as briefly as possible, *the cup is put for the whole rite*; (2) That this interpretation is confirmed by the reason on which the rule is grounded; namely, "*because untaught*." Surely a Romanist, at least, will admit that *this specified disqualifier* incapacitates as much for the reception of the *literal* body, as for that of the *literal* blood of Christ. (3) If all this will not do,—that it is as plain as language can make it,—that *ALL others, ALL but "the untaught,"* were admitted to the cup. (4) That the Romanist is hard run for an instance, seeing this is the only one he can lay hold of: a case so expressly on our side. Lastly, observe the artfulness of certain Irish historians. For instance, Mr. Moore (the poet), having first given us his *word*, that Usher's instances are "by no means conclusive or satisfactory;" then adds, (with a sort of good-natured easy candour, as if the concession was of little consequence), "though it would certainly appear, from one of the Canons of the Penitential of St. Columbanus, that, before the introduction of his rule, novices *had been* admitted to the cup." (*History of Ireland*, vol. I. p. 240.) That is to say, "*the untaught*" had

been admitted before! Well, then, Columbanus introduced a very sound scriptural canon, just such as *we* protestants use at the present day. Mr. Moore saw, as clearly as any man could see, that *he*, professing to speak the truth, ought to have said, it was as plain from the canon, as plain could be, that *all but the untaught*, if otherwise *fit*, were admitted *after*, as well as *before*, to the cup. How ingenious is jesuitry! Reader, was this man fit to be employed by the responsible editors of "the Cabinet Cyclopædia" to give the English public a correct view of the religion of the ancient Irish?

(21) Ut ergo honore apostolico non careas, conserva fidem apostolicam, confirma testimonio, roboras scripto, muni synodo; ut nullus tibi jure resistat. Noli despiciere consiliolum aligenigenæ, tanquam doctor illius zelantis pro te. Mundus jam declinat; Princeps pastorum appropinquat: cave ne te negligentem inveniatur, et conservos pugnis mali exempli percutientem, manducantemque cum Hæbræis, et bibentem; ne contingat sequentia securitati; *qui enim ignorat, ignorabitur*. Non sufficit tibi quod pro te ipso sollicitus sis, qui multorum curam suscepisti: cui enim plus creditur, plus ab eo exigitur. §. 3.

Vigila itaque, quæso, Papa, vigila; et iterum dico: vigila; quia forte non bene vigilat Vigilius, quem caput scandali isti clamant, qui vobis culpam injiciunt. §. 4.

Ne igitur hoc fune erroris longissimo liget latro antiquus homines, caussa schismatis incidatur, quæso, confestim a te cultello quodammodo sancti Petri, id est, vera in synodo fidei confessione, et hæreticorum omnium abominatione ac anathematizatione, ut mundes cathedram Petri ab omni errore, horrore, si quis est, ut aiunt, intromissus; si non, ut puritas agnoscatur ab omnibus. Dolendum enim ac defendendum est, si in sede apostolica fidei Catholica non tenetur. * * * * Idcirco precor vos pro Christo: subvenite famæ vestræ, quæ laceratur inter gentes, ne perfidiæ vestræ reputetur ab æmulis, si amplius taceatis. Nolite itaque amplius dissimulare; nolite tacere; sed potius emittite vocem veri Pastoris, quam agnoscunt suæ oves, quæ alienorum vocem non audiunt, sed fugiunt ab eo: * * * *

Jam vestra culpa est, si vos deviasitis de vera fiducia, et primam fidem irritam fecistis: merito vestri juniores vobis resistunt; et merito vobiscum non communicant, donec perditorum memoria deleatur, et oblivioni tradatur. Si enim hæc certa magis quam fabulosa sunt, versa vice, filii vestri in caput conversi sunt, vos vero in caudam; quod etiam dici dolor est: ideo et vestri erant judices qui semper orthodoxam fidem servaverunt, quicunque illi fuerint, etiamsi juniores vestri videantur. Ipsi autem orthodoxi et veri catholoci, qui neque hæreticos, neque suspectos aliquos aliquando receperunt, neque defenderunt, sed in zelo veræ fidei permanserunt.

(22) and (23) Non enim apud nos persona, sed ratio valet: amor autem pacis evangelicæ totum me dicere cogit, ut vobis sit stupor ambobis, qui unus chorus esse debuistis. * * * Nos enim, ut ante dixi devincti sumus Cathedræ S. Petri: licet enim Roma magna est et vulgata; per istam Cathedram tantum apud nos est magna et clara. * * * Ex tunc vos magni estis et clari, et Roma ipsa nobilior, et clarior est; et, si dici potest, propter Christi geminos apostolos, vos prope cælestes estis, et Roma orbis terrarum caput est, salva loci Dominicæ resurrectionis singulari prærogativa. Et ideo, sicut magnus honor vister

est pro dignitate Cathedralis, ita magna cura vobis necessaria est, ut non perdatis vestram dignitatem, propter aliquam perversitatem. Tandiu enim potestas apud vos erit quamdiu recta ratio permanserit: ille enim certus regni cælorum clavicularius est, qui dignis per veram scientiam aperit, et indignis claudit. Alioquin, si contraria fecerit, nec aperire, nec claudere poterit.

Cum hæc igitur vera sint et sine ulla contradictione ab omnibus vera sapientibus recepta sint, (licet omnibus notum est, et nemo qui nesciat qualiter Salvator noster sancto Petro regni cælorum contulit claves), et vos per hoc forte superciliosum nescis quid, præ cæteris vobis majoris auctoritatis, ac in divinis rebus potestatis vindicatis; noveritis minorem fore potestatem vestram apud Dominum, si vel cogitatis hoc in cordibus vestris: quia unitas fidei in toto orbe unitatem fecit potestatis et prærogativæ; ita ut libertas veritati ubique ad omnibus detur, et aditus errori ab omnibus similiter abnegetur: quia confessio recta etiam sancto privilegium dedit claviculario, communi omnium Nonno: liceat etiam junioribus vestris sollicitare vos pro zelo fidei, &c.

(24) Quid autem gravius sentiri de Ecclesia matre quam si dicamus? Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat: soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt. (*Cummian. Epist. Sgloge* §. 1.)

(25) Celsus was the instigator and encourager of Malachy in all his measures.

(26) I thought it better to give an account of this infamous Bull, as well as that which followed it, in the words of Mr. Moore and Dr. Lanigan, than in my own; because both these gentlemen are zealous Irish Romanists, and writers of the present day. There was a time, indeed, when Irish Romanists could not bear the thought of such diabolical documents having issued from the Roman conclave, and the Head (so-called) of the Church. But that time has long since passed away: the evidence for the authenticity of the Bulls proved too strong; and the controversy on the subject was no sooner raised, than the poor Irish were obliged to stare the proofs in the face, and reconcile their minds to the sore thought, explain it how they might. "Adrian's Bull," says Dr. Lanigan, "is of so unwarrantable and unjustifiable a nature, that some writers could not bring themselves to believe that he issued it, and have endeavoured to prove it a forgery; but their efforts were of no avail: and never did there exist a more real or authentic document. It has not, indeed, been published in the *Bullarium Romanum*, the editors of which were ashamed of it; but there was a copy of it in the Vatican library, as is clear from its being referred to by Pope John XXII., in his Brief to Edward II. of England, written in 1319; which Brief is in the *Bullarium*, and may be seen in Wilkins' *Councils*, vol. 2, p. 91; in Broden's *Descriptio Regni Hibern.*, printed at Rome in 1721; and in Mac-Geoghegan's *Histoire*, &c. tom. 2, p. 115. In the said Brief, the Pope not only refers to Adrian's Bull by name, but says that he joins to the Brief a copy of it, for the use of the king. And Baronius, who has published the Bull (Adrian's) in his *Annales*, &c., tells us, that he took his copy of it from a *Codex Vaticanus*. Then we have the testimony of the very intriguer employed in procuring this Bull, *John of Salisbury*. Adrian's grant of Ireland to Henry II. is expressly mentioned and confirmed by Pope Alexander III., in his letter (Bull) to him of the year

1172. Geraldus Cambrensis, Matthew Paris, and others, give not only an account of said Bull, but the Bull itself; and Usher states that he saw copies of it in the registers of *Dublin and Lismore*. What has been now said is surely more than enough to set aside the doubts of Lynch, or of any other writer." (*Lanigan*, vol. 4. pp. 164—6.) And again, in p. 222, the same writer adds, "In 1175, Henry II. sent Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, and William Fitz-Adelm, to Ireland, with the Bull of Adrian IV, and the confirmatory Bull of Alexander III. On their arrival, a meeting of Bishops was held at *Waterford*, in which those precious documents were *publicly* read. This Brief may be seen in *Usher's Sylloge*, No. 47, taken from the genuine and correct text of Geraldus. It confirms the grant made by Adrian, under the former condition of the payment of the Peter-pence; and Alexander wishes, that on eradicating the dirty practices of Ireland, the nation may, through Henry's exertions, become polished, and its Church be brought to a better form. He (Alexander) seems to have known nothing of the state of the Irish Church, except what he heard from the *lying accounts* of the enemies of Ireland; and as to ecclesiastical or other dirt, *I believe he might, in those times, have found enough of it, and I fear more, nearer home, without looking for it in this country, (Ireland).*" *Quære*: Reader, was poor Dr. Lanigan so dull as not to see that it was not *reform* the Pope was seeking for in Ireland, but *money*? Money! money! oh, well is it said of thee, "The love of money is the root of all evil!" The following is a literal translation of the two Bulls:—

"Adrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, sends greeting and apostolical benediction.

"The desire your magnificence expresses to extend your glorious name upon earth, and crown yourself with the great reward of eternal felicity in Heaven, is very laudable, and abundantly profitable to you; while as a good Catholic Prince, you purpose to enlarge the bounds of the Church, to declare the true Christian faith to rude and barbarous tribes, and to pull up by the roots the nurseries of vice from the field of the Lord: which to execute the more becomingly, you require the encouragement and support of the apostolic see. That in the accomplishing of this work, you will have a success proportioned to the depth of counsel and wisdom with which you proceed, we are fully confident; God performing it for you; because, whatever takes its rise from ardour of faith and love of religion, is always wont to have a good and prosperous issue. Of course, that Ireland, and all the islands on which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shone, and which have received the rudiments of the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter and the most holy Roman Church, (a right which your own nobility acknowledges) there is no manner of doubt. And hence it is that we so much the more gladly plant in them the nurseries of faith, and sow that seed therein which is acceptable to God; as we foresee it will be the more strictly required of us in the last judgment. †

"Since, then, you have signified to us, most dear son, that you desire to enter into the island of Ireland, in order to subdue that people to the obedience of laws, and extirpate thence the nurseries of vice; and since you are willing also to pay an annual pension to St. Peter of one penny from every house therein, and to preserve the rights of the Church in that land inviolate and entire; therefore we, seconding your pious and praise-worthy intention with the favour it deserves, and granting a gracious assent to your petition, are thankful, and are well pleased, that, for the enlargement of the bounds of the Church, for the restraint of vice, the correction of evil, and the planting of good, manners, and for the advancement of the Christian religion, you do enter into that island, and execute there whatever may tend to the honour of God and the health of that land; and that the people of that country receive you with honour, and reverence you as their Lord; provided, as I have said, that the ecclesiastical rights therein remain inviolate and entire, and that to St. Peter and the most Holy Roman Church the annual pension of a denarius from every house be reserved. If, therefore, you will follow up your design to full completion, let it be your aim to instruct that nation in good morals, and to do your utmost, as well personally, as by those whom you know

† The words in Usher's copy are, *interno* examine; but he adds in a note, *extremo* habet schotichronicen; which reading I prefer.

to be fit for that work, in faith, and word, and life, that the Church may there be adorned, the Christian religion planted and made to grow; and that whatsoever appertains to the honour of God and the salvation of souls be so ordered by you, that it may entitle you to an eternal reward from God, and a glorious name upon earth for ever. Given at Rome, &c., anno 1155." (*Sylloge* 46.)

"Forasmuch as those things, which have been, for good reasons, granted by our predecessors, deserve to be confirmed on a sure and perpetual foundation; and considering the grant of the dominion of the kingdom of Ireland, made to you by the venerable Pope Adrian; we, treading in his footsteps, and hoping also to reap the fruits of our own longing, (*nostrique desiderii fructum attendentes*), do ratify and confirm the same to you; reserving to St. Peter and to the Holy Roman Church, as in England, so in Ireland, the payment of a *denarius* annually from every house; and providing that, the abominations of that land being eradicated by your diligence, that barbarous nation, which is Christian only in name, be reformed; and that, that hitherto disorderly Church being remoulded, the people with the name of Christians be, by you, made Christians in effect, for the future. Given at Rome, in the year of salvation, 1172." (*Sylloge* 47.)

(27) Septimo. * * * Item, quod omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia in omnibus partibus ecclesiæ (Hiberniæ) amodo tractentur. (*Gerald. Camb. Hibernia, Expugnata*, c. 34; also in *Wilkins*.)

(28) That it took a long time to enforce the decrees of the Council of Cashel, even within the English *pale*, is evident from the canon quoted in note 24, *First Part*; and that they produced no effect at all without the *pale*, we have the decisive admission of Dr. Lanigan, who says, that though the decrees were ratified by the Pope, yet, "after all, said decrees produced no effect in Ireland, and were disregarded by the clergy and people, who looked only to their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the Synod of Cashel had never been held." (*Lanigan*, vol. 4, p. 217. And so it continued, in some parts remote from the *pale*, even in the fifteenth century.

(Note a, c. 4, *First Part*.) The discovery of America.] This fact is found in the *legendary* life of *St. Brendan of Clonfert*, who died A. D. 577. St. Brendan, having heard of the existence of a far western region from two of his disciples, *Barindeus* and *Mernoc*, who had been there before that time, laid in provisions for fifty days; and, weighing anchor from the coast of Kerry, sailed *contra solstitium æstivale*, i.e. north-west, or to the point at which the sun sets in summer. And it is said, that after arriving in the country, he travelled for fifteen days inward, but yet could not reach to the end of it. These voyages, it is said, continued for seven years; and Colgan says, "that they are spoken of in Irish documents of the eighth century." (*Lanigan*, v. 2, p. 35.) And this story, or, if a fact, the tradition of it preserved among the people, may have led to the following fact, which is thus given by O'Halloran. "This year, (1169), Maidoc, or Maidog, third son to Owen Gwyneth, prince of North Wales, by an Irish princess, retired to his maternal patrimony, *Cloghran, in Connaught*; and, being a prince of great experience in maritime affairs, he fitted out a great number of ships, with which he sailed from Ireland, (say my authorities, Clin and Stow), so far south, as to discover land, till then unknown; and these regions, in the opinion of the antiquarian, Humphrey Lloyd, and others, must have been part of New Spain. If so, Irish and Welsh may claim the honour of this discovery, prior to Columbus, or Americus Vesputius." (*O'Halloran*, vol. ii. B. 13, c. 1.)

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